

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REGISTER

OCTOBER, 1894.

UNITED STATES NAVY DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

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As compared with the services rendered by the Army during our late Civil War the part performed by the Navy has not been sufficiently estimated in the popular mind, nor its record fully written in the popular annals. But to a close observer of those stirring events which lately converted so large a portion of our country into one vast battle ground, and more especially to those who were active participants in the struggle, the important assistance rendered by the Navy can hardly be over-valued.

At the beginning of the conflict, the clear-sighted Prince de Joinville penned these thoughtful and almost prophetic words :

"To overcome the danger springing from so formidable an insurrection, three results must be obtained—the shores of the seceding States must be blockaded, the course of the Mississippi and the whole water system of the West must be mastered, finally, the rebellious government must be driven from Richmond, its chosen Capital." The task seemed stupendous, and taking into consideration the area of the continent comprised, one that would appear almost impossible of performance. But all this was accomplished, and more. To-day the country stands indebted to the Navy for the possession of the largest portion of our Southern coast; to the Navy it must give credit as the auxiliary that so ably seconded the Army in re-establishing the supremacy of the national government from sea to sea.

To what extent and with what success the Navy, out of such small beginnings and crude materials, contributed to the surprising results which were finally achieved by the Union arms, it is the purpose of this paper to recite and illustrate.

When in 1861 the guns of Sumter summoned the people of the North to arms in defense of the integrity of the Union, the Navy consisted of forty-two vessels in commission, and most of these were dispersed on distant seas. The number of seamen and marines in the service was about 7000, of which there were only 207 seamen available at all our naval stations and receiving ships. Such was the force with which the Navy undertook to perform the duty assigned it at the very outset of the war, namely, to execute the proclamations of the President issued on April 19 and 27, 1861, placing under blockade the ports of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, extending from Hampton Roads to the Rio Grande and covering a coast-line upwards of thirty-five hundred miles in length. Along this line there are countless inlets and inner channels, and 185 harbor and river openings, which, with the shallow nature of the Southern coast, protected by forts and earthwork batteries, armed with modern artillery, afforded almost unlimited facilities for blockade-running and interdicted traffic.

The force at its command being wholly inadequate, the Government called into requisition the commercial marine, and contracted with builders for the construction of vessels, an arrangement of absolute necessity, for at the beginning of the war it was without an establishment of its own wherein a shaft could be made for a steamer, or a plate for an iron-clad.

No sooner had the Navy undertaken its difficult task than in addition to the Confederate enemy and the ordinary perils of war, it encountered an unexpected danger, a new and formidable foe.

In Europe the proclamation of the blockade was received with derision. The attempt to enforce it with the small resources at our command was met with incredulity, which developed into positive and aggressive hostility as the Rebellion assumed the proportions of a civil war. This hostility grew more intense as it became apparent from the resolute earnestness and gigantic efforts of the North that the issue must be the triumph of the nation or the dissolution of the Union.

Even the right to blockade our ports was controverted in England and France, and the act was construed as an extension of belligerent rights to the insurgents. Their cause was espoused by both nations, and the final dissolution of the Union was

contemplated with unconcealed satisfaction. The policy of the latter country culminated in the Mexican expedition of the ill-fated Maximilian. England pronounced the undertaking impracticable, and by all means short of open war sought to make it so; for it would have been to her a grateful task to defeat the object of the blockade, which was to cut off foreign commerce and thereby exhaust the resources of the Confederacy. In consequence of the embargo, quantities of cotton had accumulated in Southern ports, for want of which English industry was checked and English operatives were starving. On the other hand, the South stood in great need of supplies and the necessities of war, with which England was eager to furnish her. English cupidity combined with English capital to construct vessels that might easily run the blockade.

To this end swift, light-draught steamers were built, adapted for shallow waters, and manned by daring, desperate men, tempted by the prospect of enormous gain. To these were added larger piratical cruisers, which, running the high seas, preyed on our shipping and paralyzed our commerce. The history of warfare records no previous attempt to guard such an extent of coast, and never was there such a thoroughly organized effort to destroy the efficiency of a blockade, and that on the part of a power possessing unlimited capital and the finest commercial marine in the world.

Up to November 1, 1864, the number of vessels captured was 1379, viz.: 652 schooners, 267 steamers, 171 sloops, 33 brigs, 29 barques, 15 ships, and 117 yachts and small boats. The net proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property at that date amounted to \$13,190,841.00, of which the moiety belonging to the Government, and used as a Navy pension, has sufficed, until within a few years, to pay all pensions which have accrued, and yielded an annual income sufficient for the payment of the entire pension roll, without drawing on the national treasury.

In December, 1862, 427 vessels were in commission, of which 123 had been constructed; in December, 1863, the number was 588, and in December, 1864, 671, divided into squadrons—the North Atlantic, the Eastern Gulf Squadron and the Western Gulf Squadron.

With the increased naval force the blockade gradually became so efficient and so stringent that the Confederacy was cut off from communication with the commercial nations of the world. Articles of commerce commanded fabulous prices throughout the whole insurrectionary region; the very necessities of life were unattainable by the masses, and the vital resources of the Confederacy were being gradually exhausted.

The privations of the Army engendered discontent, and foreshadowed despair; all foreign aid was excluded and at length our enemies across the ocean reluctantly bore witness to the triumphant accomplishment of that which they had decided as impossible. This successful blockade was in reality the great fact of the war; its value can never be overestimated, and the highest terms of praise in its behalf must needs be but simple justice to the perfect accomplishment of a great and grand result.

The latter part of 1861 saw Confederate batteries established on the Potomac at Alexandria, in sight of Washington; all below this point on that river and on the coast south of Fort Monroe being in the hands of the enemy, Key West and Fort Pickens alone excepted. The Tennessee and Cumberland were guarded by Forts Henry and Donelson, the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the ocean was closed by almost countless batteries and fortifications, while at the same time the country was loudly calling for a forward movement on the part of the Government.

In a war where success depended upon the exhaustion of the enemy the blockade of the Southern ports was the most important feature. Aside from the means employed in securing an effective blockade, the Navy, like the Army in 1861, was engaged only in detached operations. Two important expeditions were conceived and carried out, their object being the seizure of certain points on the Southern coast and a diversion of the Confederate army from Virginia, with the possibility of an advance by McClellan's army in the fall of the year. Hatteras and Port Royal were the only noteworthy successes of this year, with the exception of an occupation of Ship Island and the attack made by the Confederates on Santa Rosa.

The Hatteras expedition had for its object the blocking up of the inlet and the reduction of the fortifications. There were two of these, Hatteras and Clark, erected by the enemy on the

point north of the inlet, one mounting seven, the other ten guns. These works were constructed chiefly of sand turfed over; they were twenty-five feet in thickness and contained bomb-proofs. The position of Fort Hatteras was one of great strength, being nearly surrounded by water and accessible only by a circuitous march of 500 yards over a narrow neck of sand and thence over a causeway commanded by two thirty-two pounders. Fort Clark was not so formidable in its armament. The expedition left Hampton Roads on Monday, August 26, 1861, and landed on the following day two and one-half miles north of the Fort. The bombardment began at eight in the morning and continued till night, when Fort Clark was evacuated. The next morning the assault on Fort Hatteras was renewed, and a few hours of heavy firing soon brought the enemy to terms. The troops under General Butler, consisting of 800 men, had now come up to the fort, but Commodore Barron refused to surrender to these, their number being so small. He was taken on board the flag-ship, commanded by Stringham, to whom he delivered his sword.

This victory owes its principal importance to the fact that it gave our troops a foothold whereon to rest their blockading forces. It also opened the entrance to the Sounds, while it prevented the operations of smugglers and small piratical craft, with which those waters were infected. This and subsequent captures were largely instrumental in weakening the defenses of the enemy. These victories gave us possession of the entire coast from Hatteras Inlet southward to Cape Lookout, and northward to Hampton Roads. Their significance is more fully realized when we consider them in their true bearing as being the essential steps in the capture of Southern harbors, by introducing our vessels into Southern waters and preparing the way for the ultimate destruction of the enemy's fleet at Elizabeth City by Commodore Rowan's flotilla. In September of this year the Confederates evacuated Ship Island and our forces under Commander Smith took possession.

In the beginning of January, 1862, the Army and Navy united in fitting out an expedition against the Confederate works in the interior waters of North Carolina. Troops to the number of 17,000 were placed under the command of General Burnside, the naval force being commanded by Flag-Officer L. M. Golds-

borough. This expedition had for its object the possession of Albemarle Sound, where pirates had been in the habit of preying on our commerce. Roanoke Island lies in a shallow strait between Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Between it and the mainland of North Carolina is situated Croatan Sound, which alone is navigable for larger vessels. Roanoke Island was the key to all the rear defenses of Norfolk. It unlocked two Sounds, Albemarle and Currituck; eight rivers, the North, West, Pasquotauk, the Perguimaus, the Little, the Chowan, the Roanoke and the Alligator; four canals, the Albemarle-Chesapeake, the Dismal Swamp, the Northwest Canal and the Suffolk; two railroads, the Petersburg and Norfolk, and the Sea-board and Roanoke. It guarded more than four-fifths of all Norfolk's supplies of corn, pork and forage, and it cut off the Confederate General Huger's command from its most efficient transportation. With Roanoke Island as the key to Albemarle, its possession by the enemy rendered the Hatteras victory but a partial one. Its subsequent occupation by a large body of Confederate troops was an urgent reason for its speedy capture. The defenses had also been materially strengthened by the assistance of a smaller fleet.

The naval force, consisting of seventeen light-draught vessels with an armament of forty-eight guns, arrived at Hatteras Inlet on January 13, but it was not until sometime afterward that the transports were able to surmount the obstacles which impeded their activity. On the morning of February 7, the vessels moved up Croatan Sound in three columns, and at half-past ten the firing began. By noon the battle had become general, and at six the signal to cease firing was given. By midnight 10,000 troops were safely landed, when they were joined by six launches from the fleet, with their howitzers, to hold the road during the night, and be ready for active operations in the morning.

It had been agreed upon that General Burnside should begin the attack early in the morning of the 8th. It was determined that the fleet should not resume firing until it became certain that our troops could not be endangered. At nine o'clock the vessels were ordered up to re-engage the forts; firing in the interior of the Island rendering it probable that the troops were

hotly engaged. When the distant firing slackened, an evidence that Burnside was winning his way forward, the fleet was ordered to desist, and a passage-way was cleared through the obstructions. Simultaneously with the bursting of the barricades the Union flag was unfurled on Pork Point, and Roanoke Island, which the Confederates deemed almost impregnable, passed into the possession of the Union troops. The Army and Navy worked well together; without the Navy the Army could not have taken the forts, without the Army the Navy could not have held them. The capture of these forts and their occupation by Union troops stationed on the Island soon put an end to all vestiges of rebel power in these waters.

The victory of Roanoke Island was followed by the siege and capture of Fort Macon. The plan of the attack was devised and carried out with skill and courage, although it is one of the many exploits of the war which has received but slight notice.

Numerous and fast-crowding as were these minor victories, they have necessarily been lost sight of in the lustre of more important events, but their continual recurrence served gradually to weaken the Confederacy. They brought but little honor and small compensation, but those who participated in them can bear witness to the magnitude of the perils encountered and the obstacles overcome.

While these operations were in progress, exciting scenes had been enacted elsewhere, and the most remarkable naval action of modern times had taken place in Hampton Roads. On March 8 one of the vessels of the squadron there stationed reported that the enemy was coming out from the James river, and several steamers were discovered descending the Elizabeth river, rounding Sewell's Point and standing off towards Newport News. So soon as the tidings spread, the Minnesota, Roanoke and St. Lawrence got under way and approached the enemy. As the Confederate fleet came into view, its character became apparent—it was the long-expected Merrimac that hove in sight. She passed close by the Congress to which she delivered a fiery salute, and bore down upon the Cumberland. The Cumberland replied at once, but ineffectually, for the crushing force with which her antagonist had struck her, rendered her almost powerless. Notwithstanding that the pumps were kept constantly at

work, the water gained rapidly. She maintained a steady fire, till at four o'clock, with a parting volley, she went down, carrying with her the wounded, whom it had been impossible to save. It is difficult to speak in fitting terms of this gallant action, the words of her temporary commander, Lieutenant Morris, in his report to his superior officer will best express the devotion of her crew. Commander Radford, who had been absent, only arrived at Newport News in time to see his vessel go down. "I will only add in conclusion," says Lieutenant Morris, "that all did their duty and we sank with the American flag at the peak." When the sun went down that day on Hampton Roads, it sank upon a band of hopeless men. The Merrimac had taken her departure when the Cumberland went down, but it was expected that she would renew the battle in the early morning. All was fear and consternation. Suddenly, about eight o'clock in the evening, the Monitor was seen approaching. She was so small and insignificant in comparison with the Merrimac, that her request to be put alongside of the monster was met with amazement and apprehension as to the results of such an action. However, her officers and crew were undismayed, and all waited anxiously for morning to dawn. The Merrimac was on the lookout betimes. Down she swept, aiming straight for the Minnesota, and it was not until she had approached within a mile that the Monitor came from under cover and laid herself alongside. Then the battle began and raged until noon. Both sides fought valiantly, the Merrimac furious and amazed, the Monitor cool and unflinching—the giant and the pigmy face to face, and hand to hand. About mid-day a shell from the Merrimac struck the Monitor's pilot house, disabling her commander, Lieutenant Worden; but she continued a well-directed fire against her adversary until the latter, despairing of success, abandoned the contest, retreating to Norfolk and left the Monitor in possession of the field.

The results of this battle were lasting and world-wide. Had the Merrimac been permitted to pursue her devastating course she would have wrought untold mischief, laying open the high seas at the very doors of the Confederacy, roaming northward or southward at pleasure, and subverting all commerce to the needs and uses of the Rebellion. In all probability foreign powers

would have acknowledged a government whose fleet was powerful enough to control the American waters, for the success of the *Merrimac* would have been followed by the building of other vessels as powerful as herself. As it was, the victory of the *Monitor* revived the drooping spirits of our own fleet and gave a blow to the already awakened hopes of the Confederacy.

About this time it was of great importance to the Government to secure possession of one of the Southern ports for the purpose of establishing a naval station to be used as a centre of operations against other ports. This need gave rise to the Port Royal Expedition under Commodore Du Pont and General W. T. Sherman. It sailed from Fort Monroe on Tuesday, October 29, under sealed orders, the specific object of attack being left almost entirely to the discretion of Commodore Du Pont. A storm impeded the progress of the transports and several were lost, and it was not until November 4 that the fleet arrived at Port Royal bar. It was originally intended that the Army would assist in the attack, but the distance was so great and the means of transportation would have been so tedious that the Navy finally conducted the engagement alone.

After crossing the bar of Port Royal, upon each side of the channel were situated works of considerable strength—Fort Walker on Hilton Head had twenty-three guns, Fort Beauregard on St. Phillips Island had fifteen, also a small work with a battery of four guns. The attack was made on the morning of November 7. The most powerful vessels of the fleet had been called into requisition, led by the flag-ship, the *Wabash*. As the *Wabash* came opposite Fort Walker every gun of the fort fired simultaneously upon her, and the batteries of Fort Beauregard poured forth a terrible volley. The fleet remained silent. When the second vessel of the line came in sight she was fired upon, and then came a thundering reply from the first three vessels, which did not cease for four hours. The vessels went on until nine of them had passed the batteries, then describing an ellipse they returned, saluting Fort Beauregard on their way. The batteries were next enfiladed, and at a little after 11 o'clock those on St. Phillips Island sent forth their last shot. Fort Walker held out a few hours longer, but finally its guns were silenced. Possession was taken of Hilton Head, which became an important centre

of naval operations, as it commanded the railroad connecting Charleston and Savannah.

In October, 1861, an attempt was made to break up the blockade in the Mississippi in the interest of the cotton trade at the Crescent City. Several vessels were fitted out, including the Confederate Ram, *Manassas*. On the night of October 12 the fleet was attacked, but returned fire so valiantly that the Confederates were obliged to fall back and signal for assistance. Five ships were soon discovered coming down the river, but the vessels fell down the pass, and the contemplated assault was at an end, having worked no material damage and having accomplished nothing in the way of breaking up the blockade.

Fernandina, on the coast of Florida, at the head of the peninsula, and connected with the Gulf by the Cedar Keys Railroad, was a point of considerable importance, and preparations for its defense had been carefully made. The works were well constructed and concealed, being protected in front by ranges of sand hills, and the heavy guns mounted on Fort Clinch commanded every part of the main ship channel. There was also a battery on the south end of Cumberland Island, the fire from which covered the channel inside the bar. The water was quite shoal, the channel crooked, and the inner anchorage was commanded by a battery at the town, yet such was the effect of the capture of the Hatteras Inlet, Roanoke and Port Royal that on the approach of the vessels all the works were precipitately abandoned without a shot having been fired. The capture of St. Mary's and St. Augustine followed almost immediately.

(To be continued)

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE LIVINGSTONS.

BY EDWIN BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON, F. S. A. SCOT.

The writer of this article has often been asked the reason why only one member of his family signed the Declaration of Independence, when the portraits of two Livingstons appear in Trumbull's well-known painting of this celebrated event. Also, why the name of a third member of the same family, a brother of the actual Signer, who was also a delegate to the Continental Congress at this important crisis in the affairs of the American colonies, is also absent from this historical document. As these questions had a peculiar interest to the writer, owing to the fact, of which, though an Englishman, he is justly proud, that he is descended in the direct male line from Philip Livingston, of New York, the Signer, while his paternal grandmother was the eldest daughter of that worthy's younger brother, William, the third member of the family referred to above, afterwards better known in Revolutionary history as the "War Governor" of New Jersey, he was led to make a special study of the part his ancestors and their native colony took in the stirring events which immediately preceded the Declaration of Independence. From these researches were gathered the following particulars,* which are, however, not as full as they might be, owing to the meager information to be found in the published reports of the proceedings of the early Continental Congresses.

The Livingstons, of New York, at the outbreak of hostilities between the American colonies and the mother country took a leading part on the popular side, in the face of the fact, from their wealth and large-landed interest in their native province,

* Authorities : *Journals of Congress*, vols. I and II; *Secret Journals of Congress*, vol. I; Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vols. I, II, VI and Fifth Series, vol. I; *Works of John Adams*, vols. II and IX; Sedgwick, *Life of William Livingston*; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*; Bancroft, *History of the United States* (centenary edition), vol. IV; *New York Col. Doc.* vol. VIII; Hunt, *Life of Edward Livingston*; Randolph, *Memoirs of Thomas Jefferson*; *Journals of Provincial Congress of New York*; *Minutes of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey*; Duer, *Life of Lord Stirling*; Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey*.

they had far more to lose in the event of failure than any other New York family. For some years prior to this date they had been recognized as the champions of the people against the arbitrary acts of the home government, so that it was natural their leading members, when the great struggle became inevitable through the blunders of the English ministers, should have espoused the cause of the discontented colonists. The other great political New York family, that of De Lancey, adhered to the Crown, these two houses being as mortally opposed to each other as the Montagues and Capulets of ancient Verona, a fact which was duly impressed upon John Adams when on a visit to this city in the summer of 1774, for in his diary, under date of August 20 in that year, appears the following entry: "The two great families in this province, upon whose motions all their politics turn, are the Delanceys and Livingstons," and he adds, according to his informer, "there is virtue and abilities as well as fortune in the Livingstons, but not much of either of the three in the Delanceys."

The Livingstons at this period, like most moderate men in the colonies, were opposed to extreme measures except as a last resource when all other means of obtaining satisfaction from the mother country had failed. They also were more aristocratic in their ideas than their New England neighbors, so that John Adams and his colleagues, who were passing through New York on their way to Philadelphia to attend the First Continental Congress, were warned by some of their New York friends "to avoid every expression which looked like an allusion to the last appeal." They were also told there was a powerful party in this city "who were intimidated by fears of a war," and that many people were also afraid "lest the leveling spirit of the New England colonies should propagate itself into New York." The three members of this family who took the lead in political affairs at this date, were the brothers Peter Van Brugh, Philip and William, younger sons of Philip Livingston, second Lord of the Manor of Livingston. Philip had been just elected one of the New York delegates to this Congress, while his brother William, who had two years previously left his native colony to settle in the neighboring one of New Jersey, had been also elected one of the delegates to represent that colony at Philadelphia.

The shrewd New England lawyer met the two former at New York and the latter at Philadelphia, and his remarks of the impression they made upon him are worth recording. The eldest of the brothers evidently pleased his taste best, for Peter Van Brugh Livingston, then in his sixty-fourth year, he notes in his diary, "is a sensible man and a gentleman. He has been in trade, is rich, and now lives upon his income." While his impressions of Philip, whom he describes at their first meeting as "a downright, straightforward man," were decidedly unfavorable. For in his account of this gentleman at a later interview, he complains that "Phil. Livingston is a great, rough, rapid mortal. There is no holding any conversation with him. He blusters away; says, if England should turn us adrift, we should instantly go to civil wars among ourselves, to determine which colony should govern all the rest; seems to dread New England, the leveling spirit, etc. Hints were thrown out of the Goths and Vandals; mention was made of our hanging the Quakers, etc." In fact the well-to-do New York merchant had snubbed the youthful delegate from New England, and hence these bitter complaints. For the more aristocratic leaders of the popular party in New York were alarmed, as Adams had been rightly informed, lest his known extreme views on the state of affairs between England and her American colonies, and his New England notions of equality, should still further inflame the mob against the mother country, and thus materially increase the risk of civil war, for which public opinion in New York was not then prepared. It required still further and bitter experience of the infatuated folly of George III. and his ministers before the New York Whigs were reluctantly compelled to relinquish the hope of a peaceful termination to the dispute.

Both the brothers invited the New England delegates to dinner at their respective houses; but while John Adams and his colleagues all went to dine at Peter Van Brugh's New York mansion on the afternoon of August 23, he and his namesake, Samuel Adams, excused themselves on the following day from crossing over to Long Island for the purpose of paying a visit to Philip's home on the Brooklyn heights. Two days later these gentlemen left New York for Philadelphia, and on their passage through New Jersey they paid a visit to the college at Princeton, where they made the acquaintance of Dr. Witherspoon, its president, a

friend and fellow-worker of William Livingston in the cause of liberty, who, in the course of conversation, informed them "Livingston is very sincere and very able in the public cause, but a bad speaker, though a good writer." John Adams, on his arrival at Philadelphia a few days afterwards, met this youngest member of this trio of Livingston brothers, and duly remarks in his journal upon his personal appearance as being "a plain man, tall, black, wears his hair, nothing elegant or genteel about him. They say he is no public speaker, but very sensible and learned, and a ready writer." Certainly William Livingston's appearance would not impress a stranger favorably, and he himself was perfectly well aware of this fact, for Sedgwick, his biographer, relates that when "speaking of himself, in the language of one of his opponents in the *American Whig*, 1768, he says, 'the Whig is a long-nosed, long-chinned, ugly-looking fellow.'"

The First Continental Congress held its first meeting at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, and both the Livingston delegates were present on the opening day. The labors of this Congress were confined to drawing up petitions and remonstrances to be laid before the Home Government; in drafting addresses to the people of Great Britain and the neighboring British province of Canada; and in agreeing to support a Non-Importation Association, by which measures the members hoped to obtain from the mother country a satisfactory settlement of their grievances. Having done its work the Congress was dissolved on October 26. William Livingston appears to have filled a more prominent position in this Assembly than his elder brother Philip. For at the commencement of its proceedings a committee was appointed of two members from each colony, and William Livingston was chosen as one of the two to represent New Jersey. He was also on the Committee of Three to prepare the draft of the Memorial to the people of British America, and an Address to the people of Great Britain. The other two members of this committee were Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and John Jay, of New York. Both brothers signed the Non-Importation Association on October 20, and the Address to the King six days later.

One of the resolutions passed by the above Congress fixed May 10 following for the meeting of another Congress, "unless

the redress of grievances, which we have desired, be obtained before that time." It did not take many weeks to demonstrate that another Congress would be a necessity, unless the colonists were prepared to give way without a struggle. This a majority of them were not prepared to do, and so the different colonies had soon to take the necessary steps for electing delegates to represent them in the Second Continental Congress. The New York Assembly, however, refused to meddle in the matter, so that the duty of seeing to the election of proper delegates for that colony was taken up by the Committee of Sixty, which had been appointed on November 22, 1774, upon the dissolution of the original Committee of Fifty-one, "to superintend the execution of the Association entered into by the Congress." This new committee, which, like its predecessor, contained members from all parties, including Peter Van Brugh Livingston and his brother Philip, who had both served on the late committee, was to continue in office until the following July 1. Therefore, under the auspices of this committee, "the rural counties co-operate with the city, forty-one delegates meet in convention April 20, 1775, and choose Philip Livingston unanimously as their president, re-elect all their old members to Congress, except the 'lukewarm Isaac Law,' and unanimously add five others, among them Philip Schuyler, George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston, 'to concert measures for the preservation of American rights, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies,'" to quote the words of America's great historian, the late Mr. George Bancroft. This Robert R. Livingston, *junior*, one of the new delegates, was the eldest son of Judge Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, afterwards the well-known chancellor; he was at the date of his election only twenty-eight years of age. The Livingston family was well represented at this convention, for besides Philip, who was one of the members for the city, the above Robert R. sat as a member for Dutchess, while two of the Albany members were Peter R. and Walter, two elder sons of Robert, third Lord of Livingston manor. Peter R. Livingston, however, does not appear to have served. This convention only sat for the short space of three days, for having performed its duty in appointing deputies to represent the colony of New York in the New Congress, it dissolved itself on April 22.

The Second Continental Congress commenced its sittings on May 11, and the Livingston delegates (there were three now, as William had been unanimously re-elected as one of the delegates for New Jersey by the Assembly of that colony) took a prominent part in its deliberations, as is proved by their names constantly appearing on its numerous committees. Meanwhile events in New York were tending more and more towards resistance to Great Britain. For a few days before Philip Livingston and his fellow-delegates had left that city for Philadelphia, a meeting of the people had been held at the instance of the Committee of Sixty for the purpose of electing a fresh and larger committee, with more extended powers. This committee consisted of one hundred members, and held its first meeting on May 1. On the same day twenty-one gentlemen were "chosen deputies for the City and County of New York, to meet deputies of the other counties in Provincial Congress, on Monday, May 21, 1775." Philip and Peter Van Brugh Livingston were both members of the Committee of One Hundred, as they had been of the previous committees, while the latter was also appointed one of the deputies to serve in the First Provincial Congress of the colony of New York. This Congress commenced its proceedings on the 23d of that month by unanimously electing Peter Van Brugh Livingston to be president, and Volkert P. Doud, vice-president. As usual the Livingston family was well represented in this, the first legislative Assembly convened by the popular vote in New York, for besides its president returned as one of the deputies for the city, two others were sent up from the country districts, namely: Walter Livingston, from Albany, and Gilbert Livingston, from Dutchess.

Though this Provincial Congress had usurped to itself the powers of the legally constituted General Assembly—whose actions had been antagonistic to the popular party in New York—its members were even not yet prepared to come into open conflict with the royal authority; and hence some of its actions, in the anxious endeavors of its members to keep on friendly terms with both the Continental Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, and the English Government officials, were somewhat contradictory. For while engaged in their deliberations, at the instance of the Continental Congress, upon the necessity of

erecting fortifications and otherwise preparing for the approaching struggle, the news was received that both the newly-appointed leader of the Continental troops, General Washington, and the royal governor, Mr. Tryon, were expected to reach New York on the same day. The former on his way to Boston to take command of the American forces in that town, and the latter to resume his governorship. This was certainly a perplexing situation for the *de facto* Government of New York to be placed in, namely, as to which of these gentlemen their official welcome should be accorded. But this was rather smartly surmounted by a resolution of the Provincial Congress passed on June 25—the day of their arrival—by which it was ordered that a company of militia should be sent to receive both the General and the Governor with equal honors, and that the Colonel should “*wait on both as well as circumstances will allow.*” No wonder Governor Tryon, who had been absent for rather more than a year from his post, bitterly complained to the Home Government of “the diminished authority the Lieutenant-Governor (Colden) had to transfer to him.” In the same letter he also alludes to the determined opposition of the now united colonies against taxation without their consent; and he adds these pregnant words, “if it were the wish it is not in the power of any one province to accommodate with Great Britain, being overawed and controlled by the General Confederacy, oceans of blood may be spilt, but in my opinion America will never receive Parliamentary taxation.”

Of the three Livingston members in the Second Continental Congress, William Livingston, of New Jersey, undoubtedly took the lead during this year, 1775, for his name appears far oftener on the committee lists than that of his brother or his cousin Robert, of New York. And though all three were warmly opposed to the interference of the British Parliament in the internal affairs of their respective colonies, they had no wish, at this period, to force matters to a climax. An interesting letter from Judge Livingston, of Clermont, to his son Robert, written on May 5, 1775, when the latter was on his way to join the Congress, at Philadelphia, contains the following words, which evidently expressed the views of the Livingston family at this date:

"Every good man wishes that America may remain free. In this I join heartily; at the same time, I do not desire that we should be wholly independent of the mother country. How to reconcile these jarring principles, I profess I am altogether at a loss. The benefit we receive of protection seems to require that we should contribute to the support of the navy, if not to the armies of Great Britain."

The writer also gives his son the wise advice to

"keep cool on this important occasion. From heat and passion prudent counsels can seldom proceed. It is yours to plan and deliberate, and whatever the Congress directs, I hope will be executed with firmness, unanimity and spirit."

But the continued disregard of the Home Government of the repeated petitions and remonstrances of the united colonies, and the attack by the British troops on the armed colonists at Bunker Hill, were hastening events on to that goal so ardently desired by the Adamses and their allies; so that just thirteen months after the opening of the Second Continental Congress, when Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, on June 7, 1776, rose to move his famous resolution regarding Independence, the majority of the members had lost all hope of a peaceful reconciliation with the mother country. There was still, however, a powerful minority, consisting principally of the delegates from the middle colonies, including some of the most talented members of this Congress, strongly opposed to the adoption of this resolution, which they considered premature; and great pressure was therefore brought to bear on these members for the purpose of obtaining a *unanimous* vote in its favor. Among these dissentient colonies New York was the most prominent. So far she had suffered little from the horrors of civil war, but owing to her geographical position, exposed to attacks upon her northern frontier from Canada, and upon her southern counties from the sea, she would be the greatest sufferer in a continued conflict with a powerful naval empire like Great Britain; while she had among her varied population a greater proportion of loyalists or "Tories" than any of the other colonies. No wonder then that her leaders were averse to cross the Rubicon before every means had been exhausted to avoid the heavy and ruinous sacrifices such a conflict would bring on their native province. Moreover they were delegates, not representatives, and their instructions, they considered, did *not* empower them to vote on such an important issue.

Lee's motion was to the effect

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent

States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation."

It was duly seconded by that other irreconcilable, John Adams, and naturally gave rise to an animated debate; but as the official journals purposely only recorded the bare result of the business transacted by the Congress, no authentic report of the speeches made at this important crisis has been preserved. The debate was commenced on Saturday, June 8, the day following the submission of the above resolutions, and adjourned to Monday, the 10th, for further consideration, when, after some discussion, it was resolved by a Committee of the Whole House

"That the consideration of the first Resolution be postponed to Monday, the 1st day of July next; and, in the meanwhile, that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first Resolution"—

namely, the one regarding Independence. According to Jefferson, it was owing to

"it appearing, in the course of these debates, that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem; but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them, and to postpone the final decision," as mentioned above, "to July the first."

From the same authority we also learn that the principal speakers in favor of the postponement of the final decision upon this irrevocable step were James Wilson and John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, Robert R. Livingston, of New York, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, who argued

"that though they were friends to the measures themselves, and saw the impossibility that they should ever again be united with Great Britain, yet they were against adopting them at this time. That the conduct they [viz: the members of Continental Congress] had formerly observed was wise and proper now, of deferring to take any capital step till the voice of the people drove them into it."

The other, and the principal of the two Livingston members on the New York delegation in this Congress, Philip, was absent from Philadelphia, during this important debate, attending to his duties in New York as a member of the Third Provincial Congress, then also in session in the latter city; and was present at

the morning sitting of this convention, on Monday, June 10 (the day on which the Continental Congress had agreed to postpone the final decision, *i. e.*, Independence, until July 1), when the following letter from his colleagues at Philadelphia to the president of the New York Congress, asking for specific instructions as to the course they were to pursue in this emergency, was read within closed doors:

" PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1776.

"DEAR SIR: Your Delegates here expect that the question of Independence will very shortly be agitated in Congress. Some of us consider ourselves as bound by our instructions not to vote on that question, and all wish to have your sentiments thereon. The matter will admit of no delay. We have, therefore, sent an express, who will wait your orders.

"We are, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient, humble servants,

" WILLIAM FLOYD,

" HENRY WISNER,

" ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,

" FRANCIS LEWIS.

" TO NATHANIEL WOODHULL, ESQ.,

" President of the Honourable, the Convention of New York."

During the afternoon sitting on the following day the subject of Independence was fully discussed by the members present, when it was

" *Resolved unanimously*, That the good people of this Colony have not, in the opinion of this Congress, authorized this Congress, or the Delegates of this Congress in the Continental Congress, to declare this Colony to be and continue independent of the Crown of Great Britain."

The convention then went on to declare that

"Whereas the perseverance of the British King and Parliament, in an unjustifiable attempt to subjugate and enslave these United Colonies, may render a determination on that and many other important points highly necessary and expedient, and a recurrence to the people at large for their sentiments on every great question that may occur in the course of the present contest would be very inconvenient to them, and probably be attended with dangerous delays."

It was necessary to have their representatives, to be returned at the ensuing election to be held in pursuance of a recent resolution of this convention regarding the adoption of a new form of government, endowed with full powers to deal with any and every question that may arise concerning "the happiness, security and welfare of this colony." The convention also further recommended

"the said Freeholders and Electors by instructions or otherwise to inform their said

Deputies of their sentiments relative to the great question of Independence, and such other points as they may think proper."

A committee, consisting of Mr. Jay and Colonel Remsen, was appointed on the same day to draft an answer to the letter of their delegates in the Continental Congress, which was duly approved and despatched on the day following. As this letter has an important bearing on the action of the New York delegates in the final debates on the Lee resolution regarding Independence, it is here given in full:

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, NEW YORK, June 11, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 8th inst., by express, has been communicated to the Congress; they are unanimously of opinion that you are not authorised by your instructions to give the sense of this Colony on the question of declaring it to be, and continue, an independent State; nor does this Congress incline to instruct you on that point; it being a matter of doubt whether their constituents intended to vest them with a power to deliberate and determine on that question. Indeed, the majority of this Congress are clearly of opinion that they have no such authority.

"As measures have lately been taken, and are now pursuing, for obtaining the consent and authority of the people for establishing a new and regular form of government, the necessity of which seems generally to be acknowledged, this Congress think it would be imprudent to require the sentiments of the people relative to the question of Independence, lest it should create division, and have an unhappy influence on the other.

"The earliest opportunity will, however, be embraced of ascertaining the sentiments of the inhabitants of this Colony on that important question, and of obtaining their consent to vest the Congress of the Colony, for the time being, with authority to deliberate and determine on that and every other matter of general concern; and to instruct their Delegates in Continental Congress thereupon.

"I am, gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"By order,

"NATHANIEL WOODHULL, President.

"To the New York Delegates in Continental Congress."

Curiously enough, upon the same date as the above resolves were unanimously agreed to by the Provincial Congress, Robert R. Livingston, one of their leading delegates in the Continental Congress, and a young man of great promise, he was then only in his thirtieth year, was chosen one of the historical Committee of Five to whom the task of drafting a Declaration of Independence was entrusted. He was also, upon the following day, appointed a member to represent New York upon the committee nominated to draw up a plan of confederation between the colonies. Probably it was thought advisable by the Adams party to

have a delegate from the doubtful but important colony of New York upon the first of these committees, as the irreconcilables in the Continental Congress were using all the influence they possessed to make the vote for Independence *unanimous*, and as regards the other hesitating colonies, including that of New Jersey, of which mention will be made hereafter, they were eminently successful; but the New York delegates withstood all attempts to make them depart from their steadfast determination to abide by their instructions. For upon June 17 these delegates duly acknowledged the receipt of the reply to their letter of the 8th, asking for instructions from their Provincial Congress, in which they expressed to President Woodhull their "great pleasure from knowing the sentiments of the honorable the convention relative to the important subject of which we thought it our duty to ask their opinion." They also hastened to add, "we are very happy in having it in our power to assure them that we have hitherto taken no steps inconsistent with their intention, as expressed in their letter, by which we shall be careful to regulate our future conduct."

To this rule of conduct the New York delegates strictly and honorably adhered, so that when the adjourned debate on Mr. Lee's motion was resumed on July 1 before the Committee of the Whole Congress, these gentlemen read their instructions, as contained in the letter from the New York Provincial Congress of June 11, and were thereupon excused from voting. Owing to the fact that the colony of South Carolina, as well as a majority of the delegates from Delaware and Pennsylvania, were still determined to vote in the negative—for it must be borne in mind that though the voting was by colonies, it sometimes happened, as in this instance, delegates were not always unanimous as to how their particular colony should vote; in such cases, of course, the majority of the delegates of that colony present in the Congress would control the vote—the debate was still further adjourned, "at the request of a colony," until the next day, when by the arrival of Mr. Rodney, who had been summoned to Philadelphia on purpose, the vote of Delaware was secured, and by the absence, also purposely, of two of the Pennsylvania delegates this vote was also gained; whereupon, South Carolina, though somewhat reluctantly, gave her consent to secure unanimity, so

that, as Elbridge Gerry could triumphantly write to General Warren three days later:

"A determined resolution of the delegates from some of the colonies to push the question of Independency has had a most happy effect, and after a day's debate, all the colonies excepting New York, whose delegates are not empowered to give either an affirmative or negative voice, united in a declaration long sought for, solicited, and necessary—the Declaration of Independency. New York will most probably, on Monday next, when its convention meets for forming a constitution, join in the measure, and then it will be entitled THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,"

while his colleague, John Adams, two days earlier had written in jubilant spirits to his wife:

"Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was, nor will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony 'that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, etc., etc.' . . . But the day is past. The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival."

In this, however, John Adams was mistaken, for the date which is and has always been honored in America as the birthday of the United States is the 4th and not the 2d of July. The reason for this being that though the vote of July 2 turned the United Colonies into United States, the form of the Declaration itself was not approved and passed by the Congress until two days later, when it was "*Ordered*, that the Declaration be authenticated and printed." According to the once popular idea, which even in recent times has not entirely died out, the Declaration was thereupon signed by all the members present, amid jocular remarks by some of the Signers, the pealing of the "Liberty Bell," and the joyful huzzas of a populace freed from an insufferable tyranny. When as a simple matter of fact the Declaration was, on July 4, only authenticated, like other papers of the Congress, by the signatures of the President and Secretary—the document now preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington not then being in existence—and it is also highly improbable that an act of such momentous consequence to all the British colonies in North America should have been made the subject of unseemly jesting by any of the delegates present upon this most eventful day in their country's annals. Moreover, it was not until the 8th that the Declaration

was read from the State House to the assembled inhabitants of Philadelphia; and still another eleven days were allowed to elapse before Congress

"Resolved, That the declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment with the title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America,' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress."

And, it was in consequence of this resolution, that "the Declaration of Independence being engrossed, and compared at the table was, on August 2, signed by the members."

But to return to the New York members; who, as already mentioned, had been excused from voting on July 1. This position of affairs, sitting still as spectators only during this important debate, was naturally an irritating one for the delegates from such a leading colony to be placed in, and these gentlemen found it so unbearable as to compel them to write on the following day, July 2, another letter to their local Congress urgently pressing for definite orders, in which they pointed out

"the important question of Independency was agitated yesterday in a Committee of the Whole Congress, and this day will be finally determined in the House. We know the line of our conduct on this occasion: we have your instructions, and will faithfully pursue them. New doubts and difficulties, however, will arise should Independency be declared, and that it will not, we have not the least reason to expect; nor do we believe that (if any) more than one colony (and the delegates of that divided) will vote against the question, every colony (ours only excepted) having withdrawn their former instructions, and either positively instructed their delegates to vote for Independency, or concur in such vote, if they shall judge it expedient. What part are we to act after this event takes place? . . . Our situation is singular and delicate, no other colony being similarly circumstanced, with whom we can consult. We wish, therefore, for your earliest advice and instructions, whether we are to consider our colony bound by the vote of the majority in favor of Independency, and vote at large on such questions as may arise in consequence thereof; or only concur in such measures as may be absolutely necessary for the common safety and defence of America, exclusive of the idea of Independency. We fear it will be difficult to draw the line; but once possessed of your instructions, we will do our best endeavors to follow them."

Exactly a week later the new Provincial Congress of the colony of New York met at White Plains, county of Westchester, owing to the city of New York being no longer a safe place of meeting, when the first matter, after the usual formalities had been transacted, brought before the newly elected deputies was the reading of the above letter, and also of a copy of the Decla-

ration itself, which had been subsequently received, whereupon, the convention lost no time in passing resolutions unanimously approving "the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States," and orders were promptly issued to have a copy of the Declaration and their official resolution adopting the same, sent to the chairman of the Committee of the County of Westchester, who was commanded "to publish the same with beat of drum." On the day following the convention further "*Resolved and Ordered* that the style or title of this House be changed from that of 'The Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York,' to that of 'The Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York.'" Thus was the Rubicon crossed and the once British province of New York created a free and independent State!

Having thus briefly narrated the principal incidents connected with the part taken by this colony, with whose fortunes the Livingstons had been closely connected ever since it had been confirmed to the British Crown by the Treaty of Westminster in 1674, in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, we must now describe, as far as it is possible to do so, the personal share the three Livingston members of the Continental Congress had in this great historical event. This, however, is far from being an easy task, as no report was kept of the debates in the official Congressional journals, and unless a delegate happened to be placed on one or other of the numerous committees between whom the work of the Congress was divided, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain whether he was, or was not, present in the House on a certain date.

To commence with the two New York delegates of this family. Of these, the senior, Philip Livingston, was absent from Philadelphia attending to his duties in the Provincial Convention when Richard Henry Lee's famous resolution was moved in the Continental Congress, as already mentioned; and being naturally anxious to return to his seat in that Assembly at such an important crisis, he, upon June 14, applied for permission to do so. But, as his services were greatly needed in the local Congress, it was rather brusquely refused, and instead, it was "*Ordered*, that Mr. Philip Livingston be, and is hereby, appointed a member of

the committee constituted by this Congress for the hearing and trial of disaffected persons, and persons of equivocal character." This committee, of which John Jay was also a member, had a very onerous and delicate task conferred on them by this resolution; and when on the following day his colleagues unanimously chose Philip Livingston to be their chairman he declined the honor. He, however, regularly attended its sittings up to the 29th of this month, when he was released from his attendance in the Provincial Congress, having on the 26th obtained the desired permission to return to Philadelphia upon the following Sunday, the 30th, so that he was probably back in his place in the Continental Congress, if not on July 2, at least on the 4th, and thus must have been present when the form of the Declaration of Independence was finally approved of by that Assembly, and ordered to be printed. The earliest mention made of him in the journals after his return is on the 6th of this month, when he was one of the three members elected by ballot to serve on the Committee on Indian Affairs "in the room of those absent." One of his colleagues on this committee was Mr. Jefferson, just released from his labors of drafting the famous Declaration. Nine days later Mr. Livingston, for the same reason, was appointed a member of the Board of Treasury, and upon August 2 he attached his signature to the engrossed parchment copy of the Declaration of Independence, after it had been compared at the table with the one authenticated by the President and Secretary of Congress on the 4th of the previous month.

The younger Livingston member of the New York delegation at this date, Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, was present in Continental Congress during the debates on Lee's resolution in early June, in which, as already mentioned on the authority of Jefferson, he took part as one of the leading speakers in opposing the adoption of this resolution until it could be proved that the majority of the people were anxious to be independent of the mother country, and who were successful in obtaining the adjournment of the debate until July 1. On June 11 he was elected by ballot one of the Committee of Five to whom was confided the duty of drafting the Declaration, and who made their report to the House seventeen days later. And, as a member of this committee, he was probably also present on the memorable 4th

of July, when, after some amendments, it was finally agreed to by the House. He did not, however, remain long in Philadelphia after his duties on this important committee were terminated, as his presence was required in his native colony, having been elected a member of the Provincial Congress summoned to meet on the second Monday in July. In this Assembly he took his seat on the morning of the 15th of that month, after "the general oath of secrecy" had been administered to him, in accordance, with the rules applying to a new member, as he had not sat in the previous convention. On August 1 he was nominated a member of the committee appointed to frame a constitution for the new-born commonwealth, and hence was unavoidably absent from the Continental Congress when the Declaration was signed by those members present on the following day. Why he did not sign at a later date, as must have been the case with some of the Signers, one of whom was not even a member of Congress, on August 2, 1776, is unknown; but owing to his services being required in his own State, he was chosen its first Chancellor under the new constitution, he did not again appear in the General Congress until three years later, when he was sent to sit in this Assembly as a special delegate by a joint vote of his native legislature. His family have always regretted that his signature was not attached, as it should have been, to this Magna Charta of the New World.

The remaining member of the Livingston trio in the Continental Congress in this year was William Livingston, of New Jersey, who, as already related, took a prominent part in the early transactions of this Assembly. But shortly after the Virginia delegates, in accordance with instructions from their convention, had forced the question of Independency upon the General Congress, he had been recalled to fill a military post in his adopted colony, and, hence, was not present when Mr. Lee's resolution was finally agreed to upon July 2. William Livingston always bitterly resented his recall at this critical period—an event which gave rise, long after his death, to a most unjust sneer from his former political opponent, John Adams, who, in writing to Mr. Jefferson in September, 1823, says: "I have no doubt had he [Mr. Jay] been in Congress at the time he would have subscribed the Declaration of Independence; he would not have

left Congress like Governor Livingston and others." And as this would apparently infer that William Livingston left the Continental Congress of his own free will, in order to shirk the responsibility of voting upon such a delicate question, it is as well to give here the true facts relating to this incident.

As far back as the month of October in the preceding year, "a commission of Second Brigadier-General of the Militia Forces of New Jersey" had been bestowed upon Mr. Livingston by a unanimous resolution of the Provincial Congress of that colony; and he appears to have acted in that capacity for a brief period, upon the transfer of General Alexander, "Lord Stirling," from that command to the neighboring province of New York in February, 1776. This military appointment, however, did not prevent his re-election as a delegate to the General Congress by this same Assembly upon the 14th of the latter month. According to the resolution by which he and his fellow-delegates were empowered to represent New Jersey in the Continental Congress, their term of office was limited to one year, "*or, until others shall be legally appointed in their stead.*" When Lee's resolution was first moved in Congress barely four months had elapsed since the reappointment of Mr. Livingston for the *third* time as one of the New Jersey delegates; but, owing to the pressure put upon the doubtful colonies by the irreconcilables in the Continental Congress, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey was induced to appoint a fresh set of delegates, with *special instructions* to vote in favor of Independence. This election took place on June 22, which happened to be the day after this body had authorized "the President to write to General Livingston, and inform him, that it is the desire of (the Provincial) Congress that he would take the command of the militia destined for New York," then threatened by the British fleet. It is therefore highly probable that the members of the New Jersey Congress knew Mr. Livingston held the opinion that the Independence agitation was premature, wished to make this military appointment an excuse for his non-election on this occasion, as they did not give him the opportunity of either accepting or declining this command before nominating their new delegates to the Continental Congress. For on the 25th a letter from him was read in the Provincial Congress declining the New York command, as was probably anticipated, seeing that Mr. Livingston knew nothing of military matters,

and the Congress thereupon appointed Colonel Nathaniel Heard in his place.

William Livingston never made any secret of his views on Independence, for in a letter to Henry Laurens, dated Lebanon Valley, February 5, 1778, he says:

"As to the policy of it, I then thought, and I have no reason to change my sentiments since, that if we could not maintain our separation without the assistance of France, her alliance ought to have been secured by our stipulation to assert it upon that condition. This would have faced her out into open day, and we should have been certain either of her explicit avowal or of the folly of our dependency upon it."

But the Rubicon once having been crossed William Livingston equally accepted the decision of the Continental Congress as final. For in the same letter he writes:

"We must endeavor to make the best of every thing. Whoever draws his sword against his prince must fling away the scabbard. We have passed the Rubicon, and whoever attempts to recross it will be knocked on the head by the one or the other party on the opposite banks. We cannot recede, nor should I wish it if we could. Great Britain must infallibly perish, and that speedily by her own corruption, and I never loved her so much as to wish to keep her company in her ruin."

He, however, keenly felt the slight thus put upon him, and in a letter written to the President of the Provincial Congress on August 9, 1776, after denying some imputations as to his having made some disrespectful remarks about the convention in a previous letter, he continues:

"With respect to what was said about the delegates for the Congress, I did really mean to resent the conduct of those of your members who assigned the (fact of) my being appointed to the command of that brigade as a reason against my being eligible as a member of Congress, when I had plainly refused that command in the presence of the Convention."

Probably his fellow-citizens felt that his strictures were just, for only three weeks after this was written he was elected "in joint ballot of the Assembly and Legislative Council," to the honorable and responsible post of first governor of the infant State of New Jersey. A position which he filled so creditably, that during the remainder of his lifetime he was regularly re-elected every year to be the head of the commonwealth he had served so well.

If William Livingston had been returned to Congress on this occasion, with the definite instructions given to the new delegates to vote for Independence in unison with the other colonies, he would have done so, in which case the writer of this article could have claimed two direct ancestors *of the same name* among the honored band of Signers, instead of one.

TWO CANADIAN GRAVES.

BY GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON, D. C. L.

At the south end of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, as you enter the gate leading to the burial ground, situated on the principal street of Quebec, the ancient capital of Canada, may be seen the grave of Sir Walter Scott's favorite brother, a man of infinite humor and excellent parts, to whom was attributed for a time the authorship of the Waverly novels. This, of course, was before they were acknowledged by Sir Walter. He was several years younger than his highly gifted brother, and pursued for a short time his father's profession of the law, but he was unfortunate, having engaged in speculations respecting farms and other matters out of the line of his legal business. Through the aid of influential friends he afterwards became paymaster of the Seventieth regiment, serving for many years in Kingston and Quebec, where he died early in 1823, and was buried by the side of his youngest daughter. Several venerable Canadians, who still survive at nearly fourscore and ten, remember Major Scott as a tall, handsome man of martial figure, fond of society, and, like Sir Walter, an excellent story-teller; but, unlike his gifted brother, able to sing a good Scotch song, which he frequently did at the regimental dinners, as well as at his own fireside. He married Elizabeth, a daughter of the family of MacCulloch, of Ardwell, an ancient Galwegian stock, by whom he left three daughters and a son, Walter Scott, who, at the time of his father's death, was a lieutenant of engineers in the East India Company's service. In Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, there are several letters addressed to the Major by Sir Walter, from one of which, written in 1817, the following extract is taken: "Should you remain in Canada you must consider your family as settling in that State; and as I cannot believe it will remain very long separated from America [the United States, Sir Walter should have said], I should always think this equal to depriving them of the advantage of British subjects—at least of those which they might derive from their irrespectable connections in this country." The poet said of the Paymaster that he "knew of no person who possessed more power of humor or perception of the ridiculous."

After the Major's death his family returned to Scotland, and were for a time Sir Walter's guests at Abbotsford. In the two recently published volumes of Scott's letters there are several addressed to his sister-in-law, and also to his nephew and namesake, young Walter Scott, who became a general in the British army. Both brothers are now represented by great-granddaughters, who are almost as widely separated as are the graves of their ancestors—one residing at Abbotsford, the other in Dresden, the wife of an officer of the German army. The granite stone which marks the Major's grave, which was pointed out to me in September, 1890, by my friend, the late greatly beloved Bishop Williams, of Quebec, is in excellent condition, and bears the following inscription:

Sacred

To the memory of
Thomas Scott, Esquire,
Late Paymaster
Of the 70th Regiment,
Who departed this life
4th February, 1823.

—
And his daughter,
Barbara Scott,
Who died

On the 5th October, 1821,
In the eighth year of her age.

John Wilson, perhaps the best singer of Scottish songs of his own age, or of any age, and in the judgment of Dr. Robert Chambers, of Edinburgh, unsurpassed in the beauty and taste with which he rendered the music of his native Caledonia, visited the United States and Canada in 1849, accompanied by his daughter, who assisted him in the very successful series of entertainments which he gave, consisting of Scottish songs and recitations. He had given several concerts in St. George's Hall, Quebec, and was announced for "A Nicht wi' Burns" before his departure. On Saturday, July 7, while fishing in Lake St. Joseph, he was taken ill, it was supposed from exposure to the excessive heat, and died at an early hour on the following Monday morning—one of the first victims to the cholera, which was so fatal in Canada during that summer. He was buried in Mount Hermon cemetery, on the banks of the beautiful St. Lawrence, some three miles south of the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe

won the immortal victory which changed the destiny of Canada. A few years ago David Kennedy, another admirable Scottish singer, intrusted to Dr. George Stewart, of Quebec, the sum of ten pounds to be devoted to forever caring for the grave of the gifted and amiable John Wilson. His last letter, addressed to his poet friend, William Wilson, of Poughkeepsie, whose rendering of Jacobite songs and ballads almost equaled the professional singer's, is now in the writer's possession. It is dated July 6, and announces his anticipated meeting with his correspondent within a few weeks. Three years after Wilson's greatly regretted death a number of his countrymen of Quebec erected over his grave a noble column, surmounted by an urn, with appropriate drapery. The monument bears the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
John Wilson,
The Scottish vocalist,
Celebrated for the excellent taste,
Feeling, and execution
With which he sang the airs
Of his native Caledonia.
He was an amiable and unassuming man.
Died at Quebec, July, 1849.

Erected by some of his friends and
Admirers in Canada, 1852.

Shelley, whose ashes lie under Italian skies, near those of Keats and our Richard Henry Dana, said "that it would almost make one in love with death to be buried in so sweet a spot." The same could be said of Wilson's Canadian resting-place; and, as we gathered from his grave a few scarlet autumn leaves, a feathered songster was singing from the topmost branch of a brilliant maple with a music sweeter even than his own silvery tenor. Although far away from his dearly loved "North Countrie," he is surrounded by men of his own race, on whose tombstones may be seen Mackenzie and Macdougall, Campbell and Grant, Fraser and Forsyth, Ross, Turnbull and other ancient Scottish names, many, if not most of them, the sons and grandsons of the 662 gallant fellows of Fraser's Seventy-eighth Highlanders, who followed Wolfe up the steep and narrow *escalade* to the field where his untimely fate, and that of his chivalric foe, Montcalm, 135 years ago, so well illustrated Gray's familiar line:

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

SOME STORIES OF COLONIAL FAMILIES.

JOHNSTONE OF NEW JERSEY.

(Concluded.)



What a melancholy introduction to her new home it was for Eupham Scot. She arrived here in the winter, the dreariest time of year, after weeks of mental anguish and bodily suffering; but things are seldom as they can be, and she was neither friendless nor alone. Thomas Gordon, of Pitlochrie, and his family had come over the preceding year. They were devoted friends of her father and mother, and it was to this hospitable hearth that Eupham was taken, prostrated by grief and illness. Here she recovered her health, if not her spirits, and time eventually dried her tears.

On April 18, 1686, she was married to Dr. John Johnstone, who had proved himself so noble and faithful through all her sorrows and sufferings. As a bride she went to New York to live, which by that time had become quite a flourishing town.

Life in the colonies was somewhat easier when Eupham arrived, and people of means could enjoy a few luxuries. It was not such a hand-to-hand struggle for mere existence as in the earlier days, and people could rest a while and take breath. They even found time for amusements. Log cabins had, to a great extent, given place to mansions built of brick or stone.

How small and new and strange New York must have appeared to Eupham when she compared it with Edinburgh; but she doubtless felt largely compensated for its drawbacks in the feeling of comparative security and peace which she enjoyed. There was no daily expectation of the doctor's being arrested and thrown into that dreadful prison, the Bass, of which she had such painful memories. Doctor Johnstone was a man of affairs, and a very able one. He was gifted with the talent of statecraft and acquired great influence in the colonies of New Jersey and New York. He held some office in either one province or the other for more than thirty years.

Eupham was a very meet helpmate for such a man, and presided with infinite dignity, grace and sweetness over his household. It was appointed, too, with all the elegance the times afforded. They had brought considerable furniture and silver with them from Scotland. Eupham, of course, inherited all that her parents had left, so they started in life comfortably. Many of these old family relics are still in existence, scattered among their descendants.

After a few years of New York life Doctor and Mrs. Johnstone returned to New Jersey, where they had their country home; but for a number of years their time seems to have been quite evenly divided between both places.

Eupham preferred their New Jersey home, as she had such a large family of small children to look after, and they could spend their days out of doors. Their home at this time was in Monmouth county. The Laird of Pitlochrie had been granted 500 acres by the proprietors for his eminent services, and Eupham as his heir inherited them. Doctor Johnstone also patented 31,000 acres of land in Monmouth county as remuneration for his own and Scot's losses—"in consideration of ye great loss they did suffer by importing ye sd people upon ye prop^r encouragement & wh has contributed very much to ye good of this province."

This plantation they called "Scotschesterburgh," and it was their favorite residence up to the time of their going to Perth Amboy. The tedium and monotony of country life here was relieved by the arrival of a pirate in the neighborhood. This was an affair of some moment and created quite an excitement in the community. Doctor Johnstone was constrained to write a letter to the honorable council informing them of the whereabouts and depredations of this "pyratt."

One of those living in the vicinity of "Scotschesterburgh" was Lewis Morris, that irascible old Welshman, who was always being summoned before the court for "fencing in the King's highway." His place was called "Tintern," from his home in Wales. He and Doctor Johnstone were great friends, and it was for him that the doctor's youngest son Lewis was named. Besides "Scotschesterburgh" Doctor Johnstone purchased numerous proprietary shares, and, together with George Willocks,

purchased of three Indians, Tallquapie, Nicholas and Elalie, in 1701, about 10,000 acres of land in Somerset county. This was known as the Peapack patent and comprised the most picturesque part of New Jersey. It extended from the north branch of the Raritan up into Morris county. Basking Ridge, Pluckanim, Peapack, Mendum and numerous other towns and villages occupy the ground included in this patent. He seems to have fancied the Raritan, as he located the stately mansion he built at Perth Amboy on the banks of that river rather than on the bay that looks out through the narrows.

This home at Perth Amboy became their permanent abode. It was a large square house, two stories in height, and built of brick brought from England for that purpose. Here Eupham tastefully disposed her handsome furniture and pretty china, and decorated the dresser with her quaint silver. Nothing was neglected to make their home comfortable and luxurious that the ingenuity of the times could devise. This old house was entirely destroyed shortly after the Revolution; but there is still a depression in the ground to show where it stood, and a few old trees yet remain of the once splendid orchard. Even in recent years the poor people from around Long Ferry could cut asparagus from "Madame Johnstone's" asparagus-bed.

Another one of the Doctor's intimates was Governor Hunter, and he, too, had a country seat at Perth Amboy. He was also a Scotchman, and, like Johnstone, in his youth had been an apothecary. His father being the fourth son of the Laird of Hunterston, he had his own way in the world to make. However, he soon exchanged the mortar and pestle for the sword and scabbard, and had attained the rank of Brigadier-General in the British army when he was made Governor of New York and New Jersey in 1710. He and Doctor Johnstone must have known one another in Scotland, or, at all events, they had friends in common, and many pleasant hours were spent by these two in the home by the Raritan talking over old times, narrating reminiscences and commenting on the fate of their old-country relatives and friends. Here many a measure for the welfare of the colonies has been discussed, and many a time has the country been saved by these be-ruffled and be-wigged gentlemen of yesteryear.

Lord Neil Campbell, Thomas Gordon, John Barclay, John Hamilton, the Kearneys, the Skinners, the Lawrences, the Bowens, the Warnes, the Parkers and the Hartshornes, all enjoyed the hospitality of the Johnstone home, and their wives often came to drink tea with "Madame Johnstone," and recount their experiences and impressions of this new world, or tell some important news or delicious bit of gossip they had just received from home beyond the sea. Doctor Johnstone was a member of the established Church and at Perth Amboy they attended St. Peter's, whose congregation comprised most of the aristocracy of that aristocratic town. For their pew they paid six pounds and some shillings a year.

Eupham was probably a ready and willing convert to Episcopacy. If her Presbyterianism had been as strong as her father's, there would doubtless have been dissensions in the Johnstone family, the history of which would have come down to modern times. Governor Hunter prevailed upon Doctor Johnstone to return to New York and take part in administering the government there. Accordingly in 1714 he succeeded Caleb Heathcote as Mayor.

John Johnstone

In those days, the position was a most honorable one and

filled by the best men in the province. The dignity of the office was also maintained with much state and ceremony, and there was no one better qualified for it than Doctor Johnstone. While in no wise arrogant or overbearing, he fully understood the dignity of his position and firmly maintained it.

The New York residence was in Gold street, which was then a fashionable part of the town, and Madame Johnstone, with her daughters Eupham, Margaret and Janet, graced the State functions and fashionable entertainments of the day with their presence, while their own distinguished hospitality was most generously dispensed.

John and Andrew, the Doctor's sons, had grown to man's estate and were looked upon with great favor by those thoughtful parents in search of desirable *partis* for their daughters. John fell a victim to the charms of David Jamieson's daughter and settled on a plantation in Monmouth county on Hop river,

given him by his father, part of "Scotschesterburgh." Andrew was a merchant in New York during his father's term of office, and his susceptible heart was finally and effectually enchained by Catherine Van Cortlandt, one of Stephanus Van Cortlandt's seven beautiful daughters, who were such conspicuous figures in New York society in those days. Another one of the Mayor's friends and associates was Caleb Heathcote, his official predecessor, whose daughter, Martha, young Lewis Johnstone afterwards married. The Doctor's administration was able, and satisfactory to both Governor and people, while Eupham's dignity and sweetness, that denote the true gentlewoman, made her an ornament in social life.

Governor Hunter and Doctor Johnstone went out of office together, the former returned to England to the regret of his many friends, while the latter crossed the Hudson and resumed his henceforth permanent abode in the home by the Raritan. On their return to Perth Amboy, Eupham's interest was concentrated in the house the Doctor was building for their son Andrew, who also returned to New Jersey at this time. It was a large and imposing brick dwelling, which the inhabitants always called "Edinburgh Castle," and it is now No. 145 High street. Andrew formed a partnership with John Parker, who was also his brother-in-law, having married his sister Janet. They were merchants and had a line of ships that traded with the West Indies, especially Barbadoes.

Her husband's distinguished and honorable career was a source of much pride and pleasure to Eupham, and brought just enough healthful excitement into her life to keep it from getting monotonous.

On Doctor Johnstone's return to Perth Amboy, he was elected member from that place to the New Jersey Provincial Assembly and also one of the commissioners for settling the boundary between New York and New Jersey. He retained his seat in the Assembly for thirteen years, up to the time of his death, and ten years of that time he held the office of Speaker. His influence in the province was very great and in the Assembly quite irresistible, when united, as it usually was, with that of William Lawrence, of Monmouth, and one or two others he could always depend on.

Governor Hunter was succeeded by Governor Burnett, a very different sort of man, and not nearly so congenial to the Doctor. Although they were on good terms, they were very often opposed to one another in policy, and when it came to a trial of strength in the Assembly, Doctor Johnstone usually won the day. This was a source of great annoyance to James Alexander, and when the Doctor was unanimously elected Speaker of the Eighth New Jersey Assembly, 1721-22, right in the face of the Governor's opposition, it was more than his jealous soul could bear in silence. He had always regarded with disfavor Governor Hunter's friendship and esteem for the Doctor, and now was the time to put in a little entering wedge of discord. He accordingly wrote some whining and inimical letters complaining of the Doctor and his aiders and abettors, William Lawrence and Hugh Hartshorne. He objected to the Doctor's "spirit and temper" and his attitude toward the Governor. As Governor Hunter was not on the scene of action to investigate matters for himself, he felt he could safely give Doctor Johnstone little stabs without being discovered. It did the Doctor no harm, however, and his generous nature never suspected his false friend, or else forgave him, as he made the Rev. William Skinner and James Alexander executors to the codicil to his will. When the Doctor was dead, Alexander, like so many others, when their words can have no effect whatever on its object, was willing to speak kindly of him. He informs Governor Hunter of the death of his friend, in a note, dated September 20, 1732:

"Dr. Johnstone died the 7th of this month, being spent with age and fatigue in going about to serve those who wanted his assistance. I drew his will for him a few days before he died, when, although he was worn almost quite away, he retained his good sense and spirit, and so I am told he did to the last."

Her husband's death was a great blow to Eupham; they were so devotedly attached, and had been congenial companions through so many years, sharing both pleasure and pain together. She outlived him, however, many years, her strong constitution and vigorous mind prolonging her life to a great age. They were both noble people and the strength and goodness of Eupham's character is evinced by the fact that all her children were true and honorable. Her eldest son, John, held several offices under the Government with much credit and his career,

though short, was a most dignified one. Andrew attained almost as much distinction as his father. He succeeded him in the Provincial Assembly, and was likewise Speaker for a number of years. He was Mayor of Perth Amboy and President of the Board of Proprietors. He was also the first treasurer of Princeton College, then the College of New Jersey, and one of the trustees when it received its charter.

James and George both died young but left children, whom the Doctor provides for in his will. Lewis, the youngest, was educated in Holland, but returned to Perth Amboy, where he settled and pursued his father's profession, in which he attained decided eminence. Two of her daughters, Eupham and Mary, died unmarried, and two, Janet Parker and Margaret Smyth, married men of position and ability as well as good family.

There were thirteen children altogether, but several of them died in infancy. The Johnstone men were never absorbed by their wives' families, no matter how wealthy or overpowering; but always maintained their own dignity and individuality. However, that could not be otherwise, as their gentle birth, breeding and position made it impossible for them to marry their superiors, and their good sense enabled them to maintain the position they were born to without arrogance or any false pretensions.

Feeling that she was growing old and knowing the uncertainty of human existence, Eupham made her will :

"In the name of God, Amen. This fourteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-one : I, Eupham Johnstone, widow, being through the mercy of God, of sound mind and memory, considering the uncertainty of this life and my advanced age, do make this my Last Will and Testament in manner following, Principally, I recommend my soul to God, hoping for pardon of my sins through the merits of my Blessed Redeemer, and my body I commit to the earth to be buried at the discretion of my Executors.

"I desire all my just debts to be paid as soon as possible, and to that end I empower my executors, or the survivor of them, to sell and dispose of that three hundred acres of land (being part of a tract of two thousand and one hundred and eighteen acres, Beginning near the meetings of Bear Brook with Passaic Brook in the County of Bergen) which was given and devised to me by the Last Will and Testament of my deceased husband ; and I do authorize my said executors or the survivor of them to seal and deliver proper and necessary deeds of conveyance to purchaser," &c.

"I give and bequeathe to my granddaughter Eupham Smyth, twenty pounds ; and all the residue of my estate, household goods, linen, apparel, and the negro girl called Doreas (my debts and funeral expenses being paid), I give and bequeathe to my daughter Mary.

"I revoke all former Wills and I appoint my sons, Andrew and Lewis Johnstone, executors of this my Last Will and Testament.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year above written. Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and declared by the said Eupham Johnstone to be her last will and testament in the presence of us the subscribers :

Eupham Johnstone

WILLIAM BURNETT,
THOMAS SKINNER,
LAWR. SMITH.

In 1744 Madame Johnstone adds a codicil to her will :

"My daughter Mary, being deceased, I give my household goods, linen and apparel to my daughter Margaret Smith. And Whereas, although, I have not for several years heard from Scotland, I am verily persuaded I have some estate there. In case it can be recovered, I give and devise the said estate, whether real or personal, to my sons Andrew, Lewis, my daughter Margaret and my grandson Elisha Parker, and to their respective heirs and assigns in severalty.

"I give and bequeathe all the rest and residue of my estate, to my son Andrew Johnstone his heirs and assigns forever."

The signature to the codicil shows Madame Johnstone's fast increasing age. It is so much more tremulous and wavering. Her will was recorded in 1765, so that must have been the year of her death. She had lived in her adopted land just eighty years, and with her intelligence and experience, she was a most fascinating and interesting old lady. She was born during the reign of Charles II. and lived through those of James II., of William III., Queen Anne, George I. and George II. When she arrived here, the colonies were emerging from the period of privation and suffering. They had become firmly established and living was capable of being rendered pleasurable as well as comfortable.

During her long residence here, Madame Johnstone was enabled to follow the fortunes of our country through so much of its early youth, which was one of such portentous interest. The witchcraft excitement in New England and King Philip's war deeply interested the public mind during the early part of her sojourn here, as also did the struggles between the French and English in this country, which were also Indian wars, and almost continually carried on up to the time of the Revolution in various periods.

It was during these wars that she lost one of her grandsons,

Colonel John Johnstone, who was second in command at Fort Niagara, and was killed while gallantly serving his country against their old enemies, the French. He had married his cousin, Eupham, the daughter of Andrew Johnstone.

A number of years later another grandson attained some distinction though in a different way, and as his grandmother was dead, we have no means of knowing whether she would have approved his course.

Heathcote Johnstone was the son of Doctor Lewis Johnstone and a very gay and handsome young fellow. At the beginning of the Revolution, he was made a Captain of Militia from Middlesex county.

He soon resigned his commission, as his sympathies were entirely with the Tories, and removed to New York, a congenial atmosphere for one of his sentiments. At the end of the Revolution his property was all confiscated and he went to England, where he ended his days.

The capture of Quebec by General Wolfe, which electrified Europe as well as America, and led to such far-reaching results, must have roused the "bold Buecleuch" blood of Madame Johnstone, old as she was, and called forth many a story of border raids and clan battles that she had heard so often from that scholarly gentleman, her father. She saw the ominous clouds that foreshadowed the Revolution, if she did not realize their significance; and was gently laid to rest the same year the hateful Stamp Act was passed by the English Parliament. She was buried at Perth Amboy in the Johnstone vault with her husband. This vault is still in a good state of preservation in St. Peter's churchyard, but the inscriptions thereon are illegible.

Even to this day, Madame Johnstone's descendants* speak of her with such respect and veneration, it seems as if the influence of her strong and majestic character were felt even yet.

MAGDALEN NEWPORT.

* See Whitehead's *Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country*.

HEROES OF LOUISIANA HISTORY.

BY LAURA F. HINSDALE.

The stranger who has once visited Louisiana has the memory of moss-nung cypress and oak trees, dark bayous, swamps tangled with water lilies and Cherokee roses, blue skies and songs of mocking-birds. If he has visited New Orleans he sees in memory her streets shaded with magnolias and myrtles, her formal French gardens, houses with overhanging Spanish corridors, ships bearing the flags of all nations, parks associated with dramatic situations in the history of the State, and those monuments of which the statue of Robert E. Lee is representative.

He knows where the treasures of the city are preserved, as the relics of the Confederacy, in the Howard Memorial Annex, the important collections relating to Louisiana history in the Howard Memorial Library and the Tulane University; but there is no place which will hold his heart with more permanent interest, whatever his faith, than the Place d'Armes of the Creoles, and the Spanish-built Cathedral of St. Louis, which, it is said, has seen more changes of dynasty than any other building in America north of the Rio Grande. A modern writer says:

"There, in turn, knelt the Spanish Commandante and the French Gouverneur; there Jackson and the Kentuckians heard the mass of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the city; there, after the cannon in Jackson Square had saluted the ordinance of secession, a new banner was brought to the altar to be blessed, and the dark old church was bright with scarlet and gold, and the blue and gray of the Gardes d'Orleans and the Riques d'Abord and the Chasseurs a-Pied, and in place of the solemn, breathless stillness at the elevation the stone floor rang and re-echoed with the rattle of rifles as the soldiers presented arms.

"One rainy morning no news came from the forts of the bombardment begun on Good Friday, and while men wondered and conjectured the great church bells rang the danger signal, and passing Chalmette, where the English had been stayed, the Federal men-of-war steamed into view and dropped anchor."

The St. Louis Cathedral has the richest historical memories. Bienville himself traced with his sword the site for the Cathedral more than a century and a half ago. The old building, with its sacred associations, was built by Don Almonaster y Roxas. Its cool corridors are under Moorish arches. It stands between the civil and criminal courts, as in France the thorn-crowned

image of the Christ of loving justice and mercy was placed in the courts where the sentence of doom was pronounced. In the shadow of this Cathedral one may easily remember the unwritten pages of history that awaits the hand of the poet. The story will forever keep in sacred memory the names of St. Come, Membre, Cavelier, Testa, Du Poisson and Sonel, who were among the first martyrs of the State of Louisiana.

Along the Yazoo river was a series of towns which, when they were first discovered, were self-governing, but later were incorporated by the Chickasaws.

According to Bernard de la Harpe, Joliet de Montigny, by the decree of St. Malier, Bishop of Quebec, in 1698, visited the Taenza Indians. They lived twenty leagues below the Tonicas. Montigny estimated the settlement as containing about 400 persons. "They were scattered over an area of eight leagues and their cabins lay along a river."

The seven villages formed a confederacy. They were about four leagues from the Mississippi river and grouped around a semi-circular lake, probably St. Joseph. Among the 120 cabins was a temple. They were sun-worshippers and kept a perpetual fire. Margry says that when lightning struck their temple and destroyed it, the mothers threw their infants into the flames to appease the wrath of Deity. The cabins in Taensas county, Louisiana, bordered east on the Mississippi river. Their mounds may be seen at Bayou Taensas, which joins the Washita river at Trinity City. Their language, according to Brinton, is disconnected with any other aboriginal tongue spoken in North America. They later reached the Tonicas, where they placed a mission-house, and Anthony Davion accepted the work there. Margry in his Fourth Book mentions this tribe.

In 1706 the Tonicas fled to the town of Houma, and French says that near the site where New Orleans now stands they, fearing to become allied with the Chickasaws and Alibamos, massacred a number of them. A group of these Indians are now in Calcasieu county, Louisiana, in the neighborhood of Lake Charles City. The tribal name of these people is that of the Chickasaws. Du Pratz states that their language differs from the other Southern tongue.

Montigny went on to the village of the Natchez. He wished

to spread the tidings of the King he served. John Francis Buisson, who was called St. Come, came before Iberville in 1700. St. Come had won the confidence of the female chief of the Natchez, who gave his name to her son.

With the coming of Iberville, Father Paul Du Rue, of the Society of Jesus, and Fathers Joseph De Limoges and Dougy were added to the faithful servants of the cross. The Church had begun missions among the Taenzas, the Tonicas, the Natchez, the Arkansas, the Oumas and the Choctaws. The fate of these men who gave their lives to the Church is one of graphic interest. What chapters might be written of those hours of isolation and struggle when they gave all strength of their beings to the work of building up the kingdom of the King they served.

Nicholas Foucault, while laboring among the Yazoos and Tonicas, set out from the fort. He was ordained at Quebec in 1698. He began his mission work in 1701. He was the first to fall in the work of the Church. Father Du Rue, who was missionary among the Bayougoulas, finally went back to France. Dougy died of fever in Mobile in 1704. St. Come, who had labored with loving faith among the Natchez, while descending the Mississippi in 1707, was murdered by the Sitimaches. The sad news was brought to Biloxi by Bergier, the Cahokia missionary. In return the Governor called on the Natchez and the Bayougoulas to avenge St. Come. They almost exterminated the tribe. The Yazoos had joined the Sun. They had but just returned from New Orleans where they had smoked the pipe of peace, but they massacred Father Sonel.

The third mission was undertaken by Father Petit in 1730. Father Baudoin held his post for eighteen years as missionary to the Choctaws. In 1721 Father Charlevoix entreated France to send spiritual aid to the lower Mississippi. The Capuchins and Jesuits agreed to supply priests to the French posts. The Capuchins had secured ecclesiastical jurisdiction in 1717 over New Orleans and a large portion of Louisiana. In 1718 Bienville had with his sword designated the ground for the Cathedral. The charts of 1727 indicate the site where the Cathedral was to stand.

In 1724 or 1725 the territory of Louisiana was divided into three great ecclesiastical districts. The first extended from the

mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois, and was the care of the Capuchins. The Carmelites had the districts of Mobile, Biloxi and the Alibamos.

In 1724 two Capuchin friars from France, of the Order of St. Francis, were given spiritual influence in the city. Later there came six Capuchin friars from Spain. Among them was Father Antonio de Sedella. Father Antonio is said to have accomplished great good in his day, and his name is associated with the poetry and romance of Louisiana. The ashes of Pere Antoine repose back of the altar of Notre Dame de Lourdes in the old St. Louis Cathedral where Don Almonaster y Roxas, the founder of the cathedral, is buried.

The story of heroic service in ancient New Orleans is not complete without the remembrance of those noble women who came at the solicitation of Bienville, in 1727, to make New Orleans the field of their labors "for the glory of God and the salvation of the poor savages." They traveled under the escort of the Jesuit Fathers Tartarin and Doutrelan, who accomplished much good among the tribes of the Yazoo. Madeline Hochard has left an account of her time, which is the record of perils by sea, and gives a vivid impression of that which she saw in company with her sisters. Governor Périer and Madame Périer received them. Bienville gave them his country house for their temporary abode.

In 1727 this was the first home of a religious order of women in America. It was situated on the square now bounded by Bienville, Chartres, Duane (Custom-house) and Decatur streets. The work of these women is one over which one can but linger tenderly. The orphans of the Frenchman who had been killed by the Natchez were placed under their loving care. The women and children of the wandering Acadians came to them. Indians and negroes were instructed by them. A writer of the Order of the Ursulines says of them:

"Localities are mysterious things. They remain, while those who have given them undying interest pass away. One cannot hurry past the busy mart corner of Custom-house and Decatur streets, which occupies the site of the first convent of Louisiana, without recalling Governor Périer and his wife and old Father Bienville, who represented the majesty of France to those French women, and treated them as the loyal and precious children of a powerful king. Exiles for Christ."

"How beautiful are the feet of those that bring glad tidings of peace." The story of the introduction of the Protestant religion into Louisiana furnishes other beautiful chapters, the story of self-denial and patient waiting, which remains to be written.

History gathers in brilliant array the names of the governors and conquerors of new lands, men often moved by the love of adventure. These early heroes of Louisiana had other ideals of life and believed in a higher work. In their defeat the most sacred memories are given to Louisiana, which are a part of her crown.

A LEGEND OF THE SARANAC.

BY HIRAM WALWORTH.

A weird, uncanny air haunts the spot. No one goes there except in early springtime, and only the young and hopeful then, to search for May flowers, or to fish for the brook-trout which revel in those cool, dark depths of limpid water, and dream of some piscatorial paradise beneath the screening overhanging boughs, gently waving in the cool mountain breeze to kiss the glassy waters below. The heavy woods on both sides of the stream impart a dark and sombre aspect to the place, and seem whispering, with rustling leaves, to each other across the narrow river—whispering a tale of olden days, ere the great, bustling lake-town, near by, was built, and these mountain-ways had scarcely ceased to re-echo the voices of the aboriginal Iroquois. What is it the trees are whispering? What song of the olden time is the river chanting? Is there a Lorelei here also to entice men to their fate? Is it her voice—that strange, subdued monotone, which rises afar up the stream, amid the swirl of the swift water as it rounds the rocks—the same Fredenberg stood here listening to: the same siren song, a century and a quarter ago? This is what the waters are chanting, this is what the trees are whispering to each other in the shade of the long ravine, through which the river rushes to its fate in the valley of the beautiful Champlain. Listen, while I record their legend of colonial days.

The year 1768 was one of prosperity and great material improvement in England. The long series of wars on the continent, over the Spanish succession and other causes, had ended, greatly to the advantage of Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris in February, 1763. By the treaty of Utrecht, fifty years before, Great Britain had obtained important accessions to her territory, including Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, in the New World. The boundaries between New France and the New York and New England colonies had long been in dispute. Great Britain claimed all the territory to the south bank of the St. Lawrence river, while France claimed as far south as Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and to the Ohio river westward of New York; but

by the capitulation of Louisburg in 1758 the mouth of the St. Lawrence river was guarded against France. The capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759 was followed by the capitulation of Montreal to General Amherst in 1760, thus effectually destroying all dominion of France to the territory north of the United States.

By the treaty of Paris, France surrendered to Great Britain all her territory of New France as far west as the Mississippi, excepting Louisiana, and the line between the British possessions and New York colony was fixed at the forty-fifth parallel of latitude.

It was at this time of peace and prosperity that there appeared at the Court of St. James a young nobleman, Count Charles De Fredenberg. His ancestors came from Germany during the reign of George I. He had been an officer in the British army, but had resigned his commission after serving with honor, and had seen some active service in the latter part of the Seven Years War. He was now about thirty years of age, tall, well formed, and possessed of ample means to gratify his tastes and inclinations. His birth and character gave him immediate entrée into the highest circles. Here he met Mabel Fienes, daughter of Lord Dacre. She was a lineal descendant from Alfred the Great, and through the Plantagenets connected with some of the royal families. She was also, it is alleged, related to that Mabel Harlakenden who came over to America with her brother Roger in the ship *Defense* in October, 1635, and in 1636 became the second wife of Governor John Haynes, of Hartford, Conn. Her descent from blood-royal is given in Browning's *Americans of Royal Descent*.

Mabel Fienes was at this time about twenty years old, a brunette, with sparkling black eyes. Her hair hung in long ringlets, curling so tightly that she was unable to dress it in any other way.

These two young persons, being thrown together at the various garden parties, hunting parties and balls, soon became mutually attached to each other; their engagement was announced and they received the warm congratulations of their friends. So matters went on and the old adage that "the course of true love never runs smooth" seemed about to be disproved in their case.

At this time there was a large number of applications for grants and concessions of land in the newly acquired colonies, and especially along the St. Lawrence river and the waterways leading thereto, and along the Mohawk river. A royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, authorized the colonial governors to issue grants of land upon the borders of the lake to the reduced officers and soldiers who had served in the Canadian campaigns. In Canada the French grants and seigniories were recognized by the treaty of 1763; but along the shores of Lake Champlain



FREDENBERG FALLS, SARANAC RIVER.

these seigniories were the cause of much dispute. In some cases the English Government claimed they had been forfeited by non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which their tenures depended. In other cases they claimed that, as regards land south of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, France had no right to make any land grants, as this territory was always claimed by Great Britain by right of purchase from the Six Nations. Still, again, it was doubted, even if the title to these lands was good under the French dominion, if it would be good under the surrender without royal confirmation.

In 1767 Count De Fredenberg and his associates petitioned for a grant of land on the west side of Lake Champlain, beginning at a point opposite the island of Valcour, including both banks of the Saranac river as far as the high falls. On January 11, 1769, a patent was issued for 30,000 acres as above described.

At the beginning of the year 1769 the marriage of Count De Fredenberg and Mabel Fienes was expected to take place in the early part of autumn, and preparations were being made for that event. About June of that year there was a large garden party at Richmond. It was one of the largest and gayest of the season. Both De Fredenberg and Mabel attended, and to all appearances were as joyous and light-hearted as any who were present. He accompanied her to her sedan-chair, for that was the mode of travel most in vogue among the fashionables at that time. On arriving at her home Mabel immediately went to her room, and the next morning did not appear at breakfast, giving, as an excuse, a severe headache, which, of course, excited but little wonder. But during the day she presented herself to her family and the remarkable change in her appearance excited their surprise and curiosity. Being asked if she had enjoyed the garden party, she replied, "Oh, yes." "Are you sick?" "No." "What is the matter?" "Nothing." "Has Count De Fredenberg been unkind?" "No." And this was about all that could be gathered from her. A few days passed on and she appeared to have some deep-seated sorrow hanging over her, which she tried hard to throw off and appear bright and happy as of old, but she could not do it. The cheery laugh and bright and witty sayings of former days had passed away. Of course, everyone said it was a lovers' quarrel and would soon be forgotten; but days and weeks went by and there was no change.

In the meantime Count De Fredenberg announced his intention of leaving England and going to America to look after his land. In September he sailed for America, landing in Montreal the latter part of October. He immediately commenced organizing a party to accompany him next spring to his possessions on Lake Champlain.

In May, 1770, De Fredenberg, with a company of twelve voyagers and workmen in two batteaux, left Montreal, went

up the St. Lawrence river to the mouth of the Richelieu river, thence up that river, dragging their batteaux around the rapids at Chambly to Lake Champlain, and finally landing on the sandy beach at the mouth of the Saranac river. Leaving the larger part of his men here to construct temporary huts, De Fredenberg, with four of his men, went up the river about two and one-half miles to the falls, which still bear his name. The abundant water-power, combined with the natural beauty of the situation, was so apparent that he soon commenced the erection of a saw-mill on the north bank of the river, immediately below the falls.



FREDENBERG FALLS, SARANAC RIVER.

On the north side the bank is about eight feet above the river, beyond which the land rises, in gradual terraces, to the height of about forty feet. On the south side there is a steep bank at least fifty feet high, on top of which there is a level plateau, where the Indians have had their encampments, as is proven by the quantities of stone arrow-heads and other relics which are found. The river at the falls is about one hundred feet wide, with a series of flat rocks on the south side. The water falls over a natural rocky dam about five feet, and then goes bounding and dashing

over a series of rocks and waterfalls for nearly a quarter of a mile. A short distance below these falls there is still another series of rapids, designated as the "Indian Rapids." The river, at the time of De Fredenberg's first visit, abounded in salmon and trout, which were easily caught as they forced themselves up the rapids. The woods were filled with deer and smaller game, and beavers were found in great numbers.

The saw-mill was soon constructed, with rude cabins for the workmen. De Fredenberg also constructed a dwelling for himself at the mouth of the Saranac river, which he afterwards furnished in a most sumptuous manner. He made frequent visits to Montreal to sell his furs and to obtain the necessary supplies. Here he lived in almost unbroken solitude. His nearest neighbor on the north was John La Frambois, who lived on the shores of Lake Champlain, about sixteen miles distant; and on the south William Hay, about eight miles away.

On returning from one of his visits to Montreal he brought with him a lady, whom he introduced as his wife, and their home on the banks of the Saranac became the seat of refinement and taste.

In the meantime Mabel Fienes became a sad and quiet girl. All desire for gayety appeared to have passed from her mind. She cut off all her luxuriant curls, dressed in the most simple and unassuming manner and spent her whole time in visiting the sick and the afflicted and doing acts of charity. She was not sullen nor morose, but assumed an air of gentleness; discarding all ornaments of dress, she seemed to have adopted a life of patience and charity, and, though mingling with the world, to be separate and apart from it. No word of any kind was ever heard from her concerning De Fredenberg. If his name was ever mentioned to her she immediately turned the conversation in some other direction. What was the cause of the disagreement between them was never known. So she lived to a good old age, loved and respected by all who knew her. Her life was a blessing to the poor and needy.

Thus time rolled on until the year 1776, when some friendly Indians brought to De Fredenberg the news of the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the colonies. He had always maintained a loyal allegiance to England, and, fearing some danger to his family from marauding parties, he

removed them all to Montreal. Shortly after this his house at the mouth of the Saranac river and the mill at Fredenberg Falls were burnt, and his lands declared forfeited to the government on account of his being a Tory.

October 26, 1784, letters patent were issued for these lands to Zephania Platt and his associates, who, in 1785, built a saw-mill near the mouth of the Saranac river and founded the present village of Plattsburgh. About this time De Fredenberg returned and endeavored to secure some part of these lands



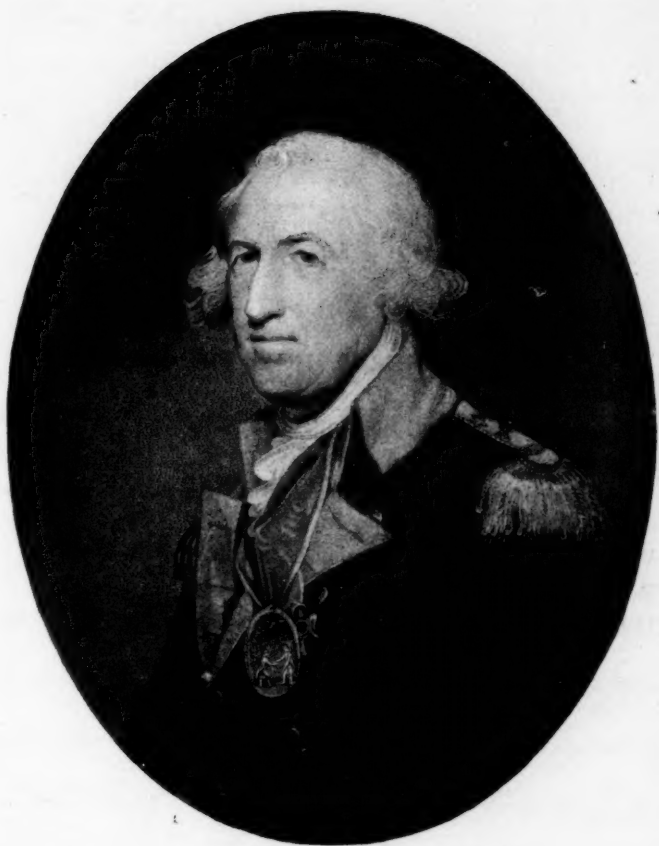
HERE THE SUPPOSED REMAINS OF DE FREDENBERG WERE FOUND.

around Fredenberg Falls. Being defeated in this attempt he became surly and morose. He would visit the site of his former mill and remain encamped by the river all alone by himself. Sometimes he would remain in Plattsburgh for days and weeks and then suddenly disappear. No one knew if he went back to Montreal or what became of him. Finally he mysteriously disappeared, and there were various rumors afloat that he had been murdered in order to disguise the robbery of silver plate and other valuable property in his possession. Other rumors asserted that he had had a quarrel with some Indians and was tomahawked; but his fate was never ascertained.

Sometime after the War of 1812 De Fredenberg's heirs applied unsuccessfully to the Legislature of New York for recognition of their title to this land, or for compensation for the same.

All traces of the mill gradually disappeared and the spot where it stood became as much of a solitude, although less than three miles from Plattsburgh, as the very heart of the Adirondacks. In the present year, 1894, some parties have acquired the title to the land on both sides of the river, and have commenced the erection of a dam to utilize the water-power. While the workmen were cutting down the timber some of them dug a hole in the ground for the purpose of ascertaining the depth of the ledge of rocks below the surface. About ten rods from the river bank at the falls, at the foot of a tall pine tree, they discovered the remains of some human bones. These were only about eighteen inches below the surface of the ground. They were carefully collected and brought down to the village of Plattsburgh and examined by the doctors. They consisted of portions of a skull, parts of the bones of the pelvis, pieces of the femur and some other bones which could not be clearly identified. They were pronounced to be the bones of an elderly man. There was no evidence of any coffin, and, from the situation in which they were found, their state of preservation and various other circumstances connected with them, there is no doubt that they are the remains of Count Charles De Fredenberg, and that he was unquestionably murdered. But when, and by whom? This is one of the questions which will never be answered.

And now this spot, whose silence and seclusion has been respected for over a century—whose repose is coeval with the continent—whose association with the white man is as old as the republic—this beautiful river retreat, which is a grave of buried memories—is to receive the rude awakening which follows the coarse knock of commerce at one's door, and is to yield up all its sweet and suggestive silence to the din and clatter of a Yankee pulp-mill!



GENERAL HORATIO GATES.

FROM A PAINTING BY G. STUART.

ENGRAVED BY C. TREBOUT, 1799.

MAJOR-GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Born in Malden, Essex, England, in 1728.

Died in New York city, April 10, 1806.

Was with Braddock, and companion-in-arms with Washington,
at the defeat of his army in 1775.

Was made Major-General in the American army in 1776.

Received the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

Defeated at Camden, South Carolina, by Cornwallis.

3^d April 783

Dear Colonel

Mr. Gates received the letter you
was so obliging to forward to him from Mr. R.
Rutherford. I got home Sunday night and
found her alarmingly low, and Dr. D. W. Mearns
who is now with her, thinks her in no immediate
danger, and all that remains to do is to restore
her wouled strength. This will take time, and
necessarily detain me here longer than I intend
did, but peace is proclaimed in Europe, and
will be so in America, perhaps in a few days -
therefore, the passage of particular Officers may
be dispensed with. - Monday Ten o'clock Congress,
that is Nine O'clock, passed the Commutation Act,
viz. for allowing five years full pay, instead of
half pay, to such Officers as choose to accept it
their own only wants funds to be established for
the regular payment of the Interest & that
Bureau

is finish'd. The pay & Gen. is gone by Order
of Congress to the Army, to settle the Accounts
& ascertain the Balances due - America
is surely to Honourable to be unjust to a
brave Body of Men, who after Eight Years
Tire, and Slaying, have Establish'd Her
Freedom and Independence - my very
respectful Compl^t to Mr. Wood, and your
Dear Sister, concludes me

Dr. Col.

Yrs. Affectionate

Humble Serv^t

Horatio Gates

AUTOGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

AUTOGRAPH SHARKS.—It is the complaint amongst autograph dealers that good stock is scarce, almost unattainable; and why so? Here's an instance: In the rooms of a certain Philadelphia auction house, a short time ago, a New York dealer bought of a gentleman at private sale an autograph letter, signed Francis Lightfoot Lee, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, written in 1776. The letter was very interesting as regards to contents, and the owner was induced to sell by the dealer telling him that he would give more for it than could be obtained in any other way. Fifteen dollars was therefore offered for it and accepted. After the dealer got the letter in his possession he was so elated that he showed it to the auctioneer, who induced him to let it be offered at that day's session of a sale of autographs that was then in progress. When the time arrived to offer the letter both the buyer and original owner were in the room. The letter was put up, started at \$50, and knocked down in the neighborhood of \$250. What must have been the thoughts of the original owner! The dealer, however, was so conscious stricken that he immediately walked to the desk and drew up an extra check of \$15, which he presented to the former owner as a balm for the wound caused by his assertion that "he would give more for it than could be obtained in any other way." Now, we must not assume that this certain dealer did not know the full value of the letter, for \$100 was offered for it, and refused, shortly after he bought it. Was this an honest transaction? And can there be any wonder that dealers cannot get hold of desirable material, when they have men in their fold who are willing to gull the public in such a manner? I speak plainly. Is it not time such men were driven out of the business? I would mention this dealer's name were it not that he is well nigh out of the business already. We have many men in this line of business of the strictest integrity and highest moral character, and I hope they will join hands with me in denouncing, not only by narrative but by name, such unprincipled men. Many a destitute member of some old colonial family, or descendant of a Revolutionary hero, has been filched out of thousands of dollars by their nefarious dealings—they preying on the ignorance of the owner in the knowledge of the value of historical letters and papers, and buying for a song what was really worth thousands of dollars. Buying for \$5 what is worth \$20 or \$25 has somewhat the semblance of an honest business transaction; but buying for \$5 what you know you can get \$150 for is nothing but downright robbery.

To all those possessed of old family papers which they wish to dispose of, I would recommend to put themselves in communication with some of our many reputable collectors, who are willing at all times to give both advice and information as to their probable value and the best modes of disposing. Shun all dealers except those recommended to you by these gentlemen. You will then be on the safe side. Pay no attention to their

advertisements. A line, inclosing stamped return envelope, addressed to the editor of this magazine, will furnish you with the names of several reputable collectors on whose integrity you can place the utmost reliance.

FALSE VALUATION.—Very often the various newspapers of the country quote the prices obtained at auction for letters of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Grant and other notables. The items selected are always those which were the most important in the collection sold, and generally those that brought the greatest price. The name of the writer of the letter sold and price only being quoted, without giving any information as to the reasons such high prices were reached. Usually such letters narrate some historical event. This is not known by the general public, who, after reading the article, look up their old family papers and often find a letter written by the personage mentioned, and at once place the same valuation upon it, when may be the letter is only worth one-tenth the price quoted; as, for instance, a letter written and signed by General George Washington, on ordinary business or private affairs, is worth from \$25 to \$75, according to the length and condition, but instances can be quoted where a letter of Washington's brought \$1250. The reason: It was a letter drafting his farewell address, written to James Madison; another brought \$1000. The reason: It related to the capture of Benedict Arnold, and still another brought \$850. The reason: It was the last letter written by the General, and dated the day before his death, Dec. 13, 1799, and in the very sales that these letters were sold other letters of Washington brought from \$25 to \$50, consequently we advise our readers not to build "Castles in the Air" because they read of letters written by the same characters as those in their possession bringing fabulous prices.

Some time ago a poor old lady came all the way from New Orleans and called upon the late George W. Childs, hoping that she might be able to induce him to purchase three letters, which she had in her possession, supposed to have been written by General Washington. Some kind friend (ignoramus) had told her that they were worth \$1200 each, and if she would take them to Philadelphia she could readily find a purchaser, as they often sold them there at auction for that price. Mr. Childs, not being a collector to any great extent, kindly referred the lady to the writer, who, upon examining the letters, discovered that two were lithographic copies, and the other, although genuine, was worth from \$15 to \$20. The poor woman was well nigh overcome, as she had used all her ready money in traveling expenses, certain that she could realize handsomely on her treasures after arriving in Philadelphia. Here was a case in point where real injury was afflicted by a thoughtless friend, and an improperly quoted item in the newspapers. The valuations placed by friends on relics, nine times out of ten, are based on the same source as the above instance. So we say: "Build not your Castles in the Air" till you get the advice of some collector who knows and is ready to purchase. Recollect, the kind friend who values your treasure so highly *never purchases*, but can always conscientiously dispose of other men's money with a liberal hand.

STAN. V. HENKELS.

AUTOGRAPHIC NOTES, QUERIES AND REPLIES.

GWINNETT.—In our career of thirty years in the autograph world we have not yet had the pleasure of seeing an autograph letter signed by Button Gwinnett. He and Thomas Lynch, Jr., were both signers to the Declaration of Independence, and are the most difficult names of all the signers to obtain. We do not believe that there is in existence an autograph letter signed by Gwinnett and if so, the value of the same would depend entirely upon the fancy of the collector to whom offered for sale. The only one in existence of Thomas Lynch, Jr., is owned by a Dr. T. A. Emmett, of New York, and valued at \$3500. A letter of Gwinnett's would be worth equally as much.

S. V. H.

McKINLY.—John McKinly was the patriotic Governor of Delaware during part of the Revolutionary War; he was taken prisoner by the British. It is worth about \$12 if in good order.

S. V. H.

JONES.—From the place of writing and dates of letters, we should attribute them to Joseph Jones, who was Washington's representative in the Continental Congress from Virginia. He was one of the most eminent statesmen and politicians of his time. A man who was honored with the confidence of Washington, Jefferson and Madison, and other shining lights of the period of the American Revolution and the formation of the Union; Washington during the Revolutionary War invariably wrote to him for information on the important doings of Congress, and depended on him to a right the many wrongs inflicted by that body upon the army, and James Madison carried on a continuous correspondence with him on all important affairs of State from the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain to the end of the administration of John Adams. They are worth about \$1.50 each.

S. V. H.

HAMILTON.—I have been told that some years ago a series of autograph letters were sold at auction in relation to the controversy between James Monroe and Alexander Hamilton, and it was intimated that in these same papers was a statement made by Alexander Hamilton concerning Mrs. Reynolds. When were these papers sold, who purchased them, and where can I get copies of them?

CHICAGO.

ARNOLD.—Where can I get a copy of the letter written by General Benedict Arnold, under the *nom de plume* of "Gustavus," to Mr. Jno. Anderson (Major André), dated August 30, 1780?

N. T. DUKE.

DE HAAS.—What is a letter of John P. De Haas worth, and what rank did he hold during the Revolutionary War?

SUMMERS.

CELEBRATIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI WAS INSTITUTED November 18, 1783, at Exeter, N. H. From a letter of Judge Gookin, the last secretary of the New Hampshire Society, it appears that this State Society was not instituted at the cantonments of the Continental army on the Hudson, when the various State Societies of the Cincinnati were instituted, because Major-General Stark, then the senior officer of the New Hampshire line in the army, was antagonistic to the Cincinnati, and refused to become a member of the Society. For this reason the institution of the New Hampshire Society was deferred until the army had disbanded and the officers had returned to New Hampshire, when its organization was entrusted to Major-General Sullivan, acting under the instructions of Maj.-Gen. Baron Von Steuben for the General Society.

At Exeter assembled Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan, Col. Joseph Cilley, Lieutenant-Colonel Dearborn, Capt. Jonathan Cass, Capt. Josiah Munro, Capt. Amos Emerson, Capt. Michael McClary, Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, Lieut. Daniel Gookin, Lieut. Jonathan Cilley, Lieut. Joseph Mills, Lieut. Neal McGaffey, Lieut. Robert Wilkins and Lieut. Samuel Adams, the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Hampshire, who unanimously voted:

That they cheerfully embrace the opportunity of forming a Society in this State, and hereby engage to become members of the Order of the CINCINNATI, and to regulate themselves, and support the honor and intent of the institution according to the regulations transmitted by Maj.-Gen. Baron Von Steuben to Major-General Sullivan.

The first board of officers elected at this meeting consisted of Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan, president; Lieut.-Col. Henry Dearborn, vice-president; Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, secretary; Col. Joseph Cilley, treasurer; Capt. Jonathan Cass, assistant treasurer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dearborn, whose son and representative, Gen. H.A.S. Dearborn, was the eighth president-general of the Society, was appointed delegate to represent the New Hampshire Society at the first general meeting of the Cincinnati at Philadelphia in May, 1784, and his official report of that meeting to General Sullivan is still preserved among the papers of the Society. At the first annual meeting held July 5, 1784, the circular letter of the General Society under date of May 15, 1784, was laid before the Society, and Major-General Sullivan, Colonel Cilley and Major Fogg, were appointed to draught a suitable answer. This circular letter of the General Society proposed certain radical alterations in the original institution which had been recommended at the first general meeting, and the most prominent of which was the abolishing of hereditary succession in the Order. In fact, it was this hereditary part of the original institution which had caused such great clamor



both in America and in France, being strongly opposed by Washington and Lafayette as entirely repugnant to a republican form of government, and by others, among whom was Judge Burke, as tending to establish an hereditary order of patricians in a country which had just wrested itself free from aristocratic rule.

The sentiments of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati in regard to these proposed alterations are comprehended in the letter prepared by the committee from which the following extracts are especially worthy of note:

"Circular Letter from ye Society in consequence of the proposed alterations in the Institution:

The Society of ye Cincinnati of New Hampshire at their State Meeting held this day have read and considered the circular letter from ye General Meeting, with the Plan proposed by them instead of that which was first adopted.

We viewed with grief and astonishment the uneasiness which the establishment of our Society gave to some of our Fellow Citizens; and were no less surprised to find the pen of Malice so successfully employed in construing actions that flowed from the purest motives into secret and dangerous attempts to subvert a Government which we had toiled and bled to rear up and defend.

Nothing could afford us more pleasure than to quiet the minds and remove the fears of our fellow-citizens; but to yield to Arguments that have no force, to acknowledge dangers that cannot exist, to recede from a Plan founded on the most laudable Principles thereby stamping ye mark of suspicion on the most virtuous actions . . . would be making a sacrifice which they have no right to expect.

The institution of Societies, establishing of funds and wearing the Badges of the respective Orders will readily be acknowledged a right claimed and exercised by the Citizens of this and every other free-Country, and if wearing the emblems of our Order establishes a Rank of Nobility in America contrary to the Confederation we can see no reason why the Badge worn by the free-masons does not as effectually do it. If the officers before their separation had agreed to have their Garments cut differently from other Persons, and that their Children should follow their Example, we believe few persons would seriously pronounce this a creation of an Order of Nobility. But if Medals only can have the effect Congress have already ennobled many of the American and even foreign Officers, by bestowing Medals upon them for brilliant services. If it should be said the difference lies in the descent, of one being limited and the other not, our Answer is that if this proves anything it must prove that the descent of a Medal ennobles a descendant which had no such effect upon his Ancestor and is an argument too feeble and absurd to deserve a serious refutation.

* * * * *

We rejoiced at the event which divided us while we lamented a separation from ye Partners of our fatigues, whose patriotism, virtue, patience and fortitude had endeared them to us and bound us to them by the strongest ties of friendship.

To perpetuate this harmony we instituted this Society and considered the emblems of the Order as the most endearing marks of that friendship which we wished might be held in grateful remembrance by ourselves and cherished by our children to the latest Posterity, and the more effectually to witness our regard for each other and for those who depended for support on our Brethren that bravely fell in defence of their Country; we established funds to relieve the distresses of their widows and Orphans. Having done this we returned to our families, who had patiently borne a long and painful absence. . . . We could only present them with scars instead of cash and ruined Constitutions in lieu of ye spoils of War.

This being the state of facts can it possibly be expected that we should tamely submit to give up into the hands of the respective Legislatures the small funds which we established with the price of our blood to be disposed of as they shall think proper, without our having the least control over it or voice in disposing of it, to become at our deaths a gift to the Legislatures? . . .

If the Society cannot exist as originally instituted, we shall acquiesce in ye abolishing it altogether; but as we became members by signing Articles which we then and still suppose originated in virtuous friendship, we cannot conceive ourselves bound by articles we never subscribed. When any new system is recommended we shall individually claim a right of judging for ourselves the expediency of becoming Members, but we never shall accede to any plan which permits any man or body of men to dispose of or even direct us in the disposition of our property.

With the greatest respect we are, Gentlemen,

Your most h'ble servants.

E. SULLIVAN, Sec'y.

By order of ye society.

The sentiments expressed in the preceding letter indicate clearly the character of the officers of the New Hampshire Continental line, who fought with the dauntless Stark behind the rail-fence at Bunker Hill, who crossed the Delaware with Washington and won immortal fame at Trenton and Princeton, who endured the terrible sufferings at Valley Forge without complaint, who went with Sullivan on his famous expedition against the Six Nations of Indians, and who led their troops to victory at Yorktown, the crowning triumph of the Revolution, where one of New Hampshire's distinguished officers, Col. Alexander Scammel, the adjutant-general of the Continental army, was so inhumanly killed by the British, while a prisoner. On these and many other hard-fought fields of the Revolution the New Hampshire officers won that distinction for unflinching bravery and patriotism, to which they were justly entitled. Most of them, taken from the ordinary station of life, were transformed into successful leaders against the best-trained troops of Europe; while many, as did Cincinnatus himself, left their ploughs standing in their fields to hasten to the defense of their liberty and country, and like that illustrious Roman on the conclusion of peace, returned to the tillage of their farms.

The New Hampshire Society for forty years had an active existence, and held during this period forty-five meetings, the larger part of which were in Exeter and Portsmouth. The last meeting of the Society was held in Portsmouth, July 4, 1823, and the vote passed at that time: "Voted that the next annual meeting be held at Portsmouth," shows clearly that the Society itself never voted to discontinue; but it became dormant by the decease of all of the original members, the last of whom, Lieut. Daniel Gookin, was secretary when the Society ceased to meet; and the records of the Society were placed by his son in the custody of the New Hampshire Historical Society in 1842.

At the time the Society became dormant the fund consisted of about \$1500 or \$1800 in Government bonds, the disposition of which has never been positively ascertained. Although the fund of the Society was at no time very large the records show that donations amounting to \$902 were

made from time to time, to such of the members and their families as were deemed worthy objects of charity. The list of the original members, transcribed from the original record books in the order in which they signed, is as follows:

SIGNED NOVEMBER 18, 1783.

Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan, Durham; Col. Joseph Cilley, Nottingham; Lieut.-Col. Henry Dearborn, Exeter; Capt. Jonathan Cass, Exeter; Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, Durham; Lieut. Joseph Mills, Nottingham; Lieut. Daniel Gookin, Northampton; Lieut. Samuel Adams; Capt. Josiah Munro; Lieut. Jonathan Cilley; Lieut. Neal McGaffey; Capt. Michael McClary, Epsom.

SIGNED FEBRUARY 5, 1784.

Surgeon William Parker, Jr., Exeter; Capt. Nicholas Gilman, Exeter; Lieut. Joshua Merrow; Capt. Amos Emerson, Chester; James Harvey McClary, Epsom, son of Major McClary, killed at Bunker Hill; Lieut. John Adams, Stratham; Lieut. Joseph Boynton, Stratham; Capt. Samuel Cherry, Londonderry; Capt. Isaac Frye, Wilton; Capt. W. Rowell, Epping; Lieut. Jonathan Perkins, Epping; Capt. Adna Penniman, Moultonborough; Lieut. John Harvey, Northwood; Capt. Jeremiah Fogg, Kensington; Lieut. Jeremiah Prichard, Hollas; Brig.-Gen. James Reed, Keene; John Sullivan, son of Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan; Joseph Mills, son of Lieut. Joseph Mills; John W. Gookin, son of Lieut. Daniel Gookin, captain in the United States army during the War of 1812.

The following did not sign the covenant, but were received as members of the New Hampshire Society: Lieut. Robert Wilkins, in 1796; John Sullivan, son of General Sullivan, in 1797; Bradbury Cilley, son of Col. Joseph Cilley, in 1800; Capt. Amos Cogswell, from the Massachusetts Society, in 1801; Col. Seth Walker, applied to be an honorary member in 1805; Col. Nathaniel White, in 1805; ——— Adams, son of Lieut. Samuel Adams, in 1818.

The presidents of the Society served as follows: Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan, 1783-1792; Col. Joseph Cilley, 1793-1798; Lieut. Joseph Mills, 1799-1808; Col. Amos Cogswell, 1809-1823; Gen. Michael McClary served as treasurer thirty-nine years, 1784-1823.

Of the original members of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati, who became distinguished in civil and military life, may be mentioned: Maj.-Gen. Sullivan, who was attorney-general of the State in 1784, president of the same in 1786, 1787 and 1789, and in 1789 was appointed by General Washington judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire; Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn, who served in Congress two terms, was Secretary of War during Jefferson's administration, during the War of 1812 was the senior major-general in the United States army, and in 1822 was United States Minister to Portugal; Col. Joseph Cilley became in 1786 major-general of the First Division of New Hampshire militia; Capt. Jonathan Cass was appointed a captain in the United States army in 1790, and was retired in 1800 with the rank of major, he was the father of the distinguished statesman, Lewis Cass; Capt. Nicholas Gilman was a member of Congress from 1789 to 1799, and a United States Senator from 1805 to the time of his death

in 1814, when the Cincinnati of New Hampshire voted to wear crape on their left arms for thirty days as a mark of their esteem for his memory; Capt. Michael McClary was the first adjutant-general of the State of New Hampshire, under the Constitution, and Lieut. Daniel Gookin, who was appointed a captain in the United States army in 1787, later became judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1815 was appointed Judge of Probate for Rockingham county.

After an interim of inactivity of just seventy years it became manifest that this historic organization, representing the Continental line of this State, should be revived and take its place in the General Society as the dormant Societies in Rhode Island and Connecticut have done. In accordance with this sentiment descendants of original members of the Society, with other eligible gentlemen, assembled September 18, 1893, in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society at Concord, and voted to take up the work where it had been dropped at the meeting in Portsmouth in 1823. The rule recommended by the General Society in 1856 and generally adopted by the different State Societies, making descendants of all Continental officers, whether original members or not, eligible to membership in the Order, was also voted to be adopted by the New Hampshire Society.

The original records have been carefully preserved by the Historical Society, and in the usual manner the transactions of the last meeting were gone over, although three score and ten years had elapsed since they were written. Great interest in the work of reviving the Society was manifested at this meeting, and it was recommended that active measures be taken toward putting the Society upon a strong basis. It is estimated that there are about seventy-five persons now living who are eligible to membership in the New Hampshire Society, and every effort will be made to secure as many as possible who may be interested in endeavoring to replace the Society in its former position. The following board of officers was chosen, after which the meeting adjourned: Prof. Bradbury Longfellow Cilley, president; Rev. Charles Langdon Tappan, vice-president; Captain William Leithgow Willey, secretary; F. Senter Frisbie, assistant secretary; Joseph Nealey Cilley, treasurer; C. F. Bacon Philbrook, assistant treasurer.

The first regular annual meeting since that of 1823 was held in accordance with the time-honored custom of the Cincinnati July 4, 1894, at Concord, when several new members were admitted and the officers of the previous year re-elected. It is now hoped that the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati will henceforth have a continuous existence, and that the principles for which its original members so strongly contended may be perpetuated to the latest posterity.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN FRANCE. — General John Cochrane, president of the Cincinnati in New York, read a valuable paper on July 4 last, before the New York Society, entitled, "No Authentic Society of the Cincinnati in France." This is a subject of great interest to all members of the Society of the Cincinnati and members of the other hereditary

societies. General Cochrane reviewed and analyzed the question of the General Society recognizing the fact of there being a branch of the Cincinnati in France. He argued that there was not, nor never had there been, a "French Society of the Cincinnati." He explained that the Society was organized originally in May, 1783, by the American officers of the Continental army, in their own interests, and that these subsequently conferred the honor of membership upon the most prominent of the French officers who had fought with them. As to this membership of the French officers, General Cochrane submitted ample proof from the minutes of the General Society that it was only "honorary," which, of course, was only a life-long membership. Probably the simplest proof of this fact is that, in response to their notification of their having been made honorary members of the Society, instead of the usual acceptance and the payment of fees, the French officers only returned their thanks for the honor conferred upon them. Knowing the object of the Society, the Frenchmen sent the General Society at the same time a sum of money to be used for the benefit of the unfortunate officers of the American army—a donation, not "dues;" but Washington, as president-general of the Society, would not accept this money under any consideration, declaring the reception of it "to be incompatible with the confederation of the United States, and contrary to the original Institution of the Society." Subsequently, *ante* May, 1784, these French "honorary members" of the Cincinnati organized themselves into "a club," which, however, was never considered a "chapter" by the General Society, especially when taking a vote of the State Societies on any measure, nor was the French association of honorary members ever included in any list of the State Societies of the Cincinnati.

The French officers had been made honorary members while the first Institution of the Society was in force. But in May, 1784, the General Society offered for adoption a new or amended Institution, which gave the French "club" and its members the full powers of the State Societies, and in 1787 diplomas of full membership were transmitted by the General Society to the Frenchmen, and in 1790 the General Society recognized the Society in France and its authority to pass upon claims of membership of Frenchmen all under the authority the amended Institution was intended to give. This amended or second Institution, which recognized a French Society, was subsequently rejected by the vote of the State Societies, and it never was in force properly, so the French Society never had any legal status.

Further, General Cochrane stated, the original and only Institution made the membership in the Society hereditary, while the proposed second or amended Institution let it die out with the original members.

General Cochrane concluded his address with this logical statement: "That if the 'Amended Institution' had been ratified, there had now been no Society of the Cincinnati; and that it exists is due alone to the rejection by the State Societies of the alterations and amendments proposed to the Institution of 1783—a conclusion upon which logically rest the irrefutable proposition that if the 'Original Institution' survives there never has been

a full panoplied Society of the Cincinnati in France; but that, if annulled by the 'Amended Institution,' the Cincinnati Society is dead, and the French Society died with it. On whichever horn, therefore, of the dilemma it is placed, the fate of the French Society is the same."

NAVAL ORDER OF THE UNITED STATES.—Probably no insignia of the various military Orders of this country is more distinctive and readily recognized than the blue cross of the Naval Order of the United States.



The Order, which was originally organized in Boston, Massachusetts, on July 4, 1890, is rapidly increasing in popularity among Naval officers and others, who, eligible by right of personal service in the United States Navy as commissioned officers, or by inheritance, readily recognize the fact that the Order fills a long-felt want and a position among the military Orders of the United States, which has always been desired by those interested in the history and achievement of the Naval arm of the service.

The design of the insignia is the result obtained by a committee, consisting of Companions W. L. Willey, S.D., Dr. A. W. Clark, C. F. B. Philbrook, and F. S. Frisbie of the Massachusetts Commandery. After a most careful examination and consideration of various designs, a cross was adopted similar in general outline to the Iron Cross of Germany, and the details of the insignia were submitted by the different members of the committee. The insignia is a cross pattée of gold, one and a quarter inches in diameter; arms of blue enamel edged with gold. In the centre of the obverse, a medallion bears an eagle of gold, in relief, on a field of red enamel, representing in substance the insignia of the Navy of the United States, the whole surrounded by a band of white enamel displaying in gold letters the motto of the Order, "Fidelitas et Patria." The reverse is as above described, and in the centre a medallion bearing the insignia of the United States Marine Corps, in relief, which is surrounded by the legend, "Naval Order of the United States."

That the perpetuity of the Order may be assured, the right to membership in the first class descends to the eldest male representative as does the right to membership in the Society of the Cincinnati and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion; but unlike those Societies, it recognizes Naval service performed in all the wars in which the United States has participated since the Revolution. Thus the records of the illustrious deeds of the great Naval commanders from Jones and Decatur, to Farragut and Porter, and their companion officers in arms, may be borne upon the rolls of the Order and their glorious names and memories transmitted to their latest posterity.

The Naval Order though limited to commissioned officers and their descendants, specially recognizes the services of those enlisted men who merited the distinction of being decorated with the United States Medal of Honor; recipients of the Naval Medal being honored by membership in a special class.

The membership of the second class, unlike that of the first class, is open to all lineal descendants of commissioned officers who are, or who would have been, entitled to membership by right of Naval service, performed as such, in time of war as above.

The membership clause as amended at the special Congress held at Boston, Mass., August 9, 1894, and presided over by Lieutenant John C. Soley, general commander of the Order, reads as follows:

Membership.

"The Companions of the Order shall be of Three Classes.

"FIRST CLASS.—Commissioned officers, midshipmen and Naval cadets in actual service in the United States Navy, Marine Corps, Revenue or Privateer services during the wars, or in face of the enemy in any engagement in which the Navy of the United States has participated, and who resigned or were discharged with honor, or who are still in the service, *provided*, however, that this clause shall not be so construed as to include officers who at any time have borne arms against the Government of the United States. The eldest male representatives of *deceased* commissioned officers, midshipmen, and Naval cadets in actual service in the Navy, Marine Corps, Revenue or Privateer services under the authority of any of the thirteen original Colonies or States, or of the Continental Congress during the War of the Revolution, or of the United States during the War with France, the War with Tripoli, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the Civil War, or in face of the enemy in any engagement in which the Navy of the United States has participated, and who resigned or were discharged with honor, or who were killed in the service.

"The admission and succession to membership in the First Class shall descend to the heir male, unless for satisfactory reasons another be chosen, in which case the membership shall extend to the life only of the Companion so elected, and at his decease the right to representation shall revert to the then existing heir male.

"SECOND CLASS.—Lineal male descendants of commissioned officers, midshipmen and Naval cadets, who performed service in the Navy, Marine corps, Revenue or Privateer services as aforesaid.

"THIRD CLASS.—Enlisted men who have received the United States Naval Medal of Honor for bravery in face of the enemy may be enrolled exempt from fees and dues by the Commanderies of the States in which they reside."

Several flourishing commanderies of the Order already exist, notably in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, while several others are now in process of organization.

The officers of the General Commandery, with headquarters in Boston, Mass., are as follows:

General commander, John Codman Soley, lieutenant U. S. Navy; vice-general commanders, John Lorimer Worden, rear-admiral U. S. Navy; Francis Asbury Roe, rear-admiral U. S. Navy, and Henry Clay Taylor, commander U. S. Navy; general recorder, Frank William Nichols, lieu-

tenant-commander U. S. Navy; general treasurer, Thomas Amory De Blois, M. D. (late U. S. Navy); general registrar, Charles Calhoun Philbrook (late U. S. Marine Corps); general historian, Theodorus Bailey Myers Mason, lieutenant-commander U. S. Navy; assistant general recorder, Charles Frederick Bacon Philbrook; assistant general treasurer, William Lithgow Willey; assistant general registrar, Franklin Thomason Beatty, M. D.; assistant general historian, Arthur Wellington Clark, M. D.; general chaplain, Rev. Minot Judson Savage. General council: Horatio Barnard Lowry, major U. S. Marine Corps; William Henry Harris, chief engineer U. S. Navy; John Fairfield Merry, commander U. S. Navy; Jacob William Miller (late U. S. Navy); Theodore Strong Thompson, paymaster U. S. Navy; Francis Henry Harrington, captain U. S. Marine Corps; William Melville Paul (late U. S. Navy); Thomas Loring Churchill (late U. S. Navy) and Richard Kent Gately (late U. S. Navy).

The general congress of the Order meets triennially on October 5, in the city of Boston, when general officers are elected for the next three years, and all questions for the welfare of the Order considered and acted on. The next meeting of the congress will be in October, 1895.

NAVAL ORDER OF THE UNITED STATES IN PENNSYLVANIA.—A Pennsylvania Commandery of the Order has been recently instituted in Philadelphia; a meeting of a number of prominent officers of the Army, Navy and National Guard of Pennsylvania, having been held at the City Hall on August 6 last, Commander Felix McCurley, U. S. Navy, presiding, and an organization effected in conformity with authority issued by the General Commandery. The membership roll already contains over twenty members, including many who bear names distinguished in the service of the republic; the historic names of Bainbridge, Porter, Biddle, Jones, Shubrick, Marston, Trenchard, Dahlgren, Turner, Dallas, and others equally illustrious, appearing on the list. It is anticipated the Commandery will increase rapidly, and, though the strictest scrutiny is exercised in admissions, a large addition to the roll will, no doubt, be reported at the next meeting in the fall. An annual meeting and anniversary dinner of this Commandery will take place on December 29, this date being selected in commemoration of the victory of the United States frigate "Constitution" (then first denominated "Old Ironsides") over the British man-of-war "Java," in the War of 1812, by the gallant Commodore Bainbridge, himself a Philadelphian and ancestor of one of the leading officers of the Commandery in this State.

After the organization was effected and a code of by-laws adopted, the following officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year: Commander, Colonel John Biddle Porter; vice-commander, Commander William Bainbridge-Hoff, U. S. Navy; recorder, James Varnum Peter Turner; treasurer, Edward Rutledge Shubrick; registrar, Captain Henry Hobart Bellas, U. S. Army; historian, Captain Richard Strader Collum, U. S. Marine Corps; chaplain, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. Council: Commander Felix McCurley, U. S. Navy (chairman), Henry Kuhl Nichols, John Marston, Edward Trenchard and William Ellison Bullus.

The organization of the New Jersey Commandery of the Naval Order of the United States is meeting with much success in the hands of State recorder, Companion Rev. Dr. F. Landon Humphreys, of Morristown, and the indications point to the early completion of the work.

The New York Commandery will probably be chartered in the early fall, and the matter of organization will be under the supervision of Companions Lieutenant-Commander J. D. Jerrold Kelley, U. S. Navy, and Major W. Boerum Wetmore, of New York City.



SOCIETY OF THE WAR OF 1812.—In an entertaining article by Captain Bellas, secretary of the General Society, printed in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 12, he gave a brief history of the Society. This Society was originally founded by the surviving veterans of the War of 1812-14, in a general convention held at Philadelphia, in Independence Hall, January 9, 1854, and from this initial step towards permanent organization grew the several State Associations. The Pennsylvania Society was permanently organized July 4, 1857, on recommendation of a National Convention of the Veterans of the War of 1812, by the formation of "a Society in each State and within its own limits." The Maryland Society was organized April 1, 1842. The Connecticut and the Massachusetts Societies were only organized in 1894. The Pennsylvania and the Maryland Societies reorganized lately to conform in objects and laws, and upon application of certain members of the State Societies, the General Society of the War of 1812 was formally instituted on June 19, 1893.



THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS in the State of New Jersey, to which a charter was granted by the General Society of Colonial Wars, at a meeting held in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., May 8, 1894, was duly incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, and the following officers elected at a meeting of the Society held July 26, 1894, at the residence of General E. Burd Grubb, Edgewater Park, N. J.: Governor, General E. Burd Grubb; deputy-governor, General William S. Stryker; lieutenant-governor, Walter Chandler, Esq.; secretary, George Ellsworth Kones, Esq.; treasurer, William Morris Deen, Esq.; chaplain, Rev. Dr. Asbel Green Vermilye; historian, Howard Coghill, Esq.; registrar, Frank Landon Humphreys; chancellor, Judge Clifford Stanley Sims.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT FORT MCHENRY, MD.—The one hundredth anniversary of the occupation of Fort McHenry by the United States Government and the eightieth anniversary of the battle of North Point was patriotically celebrated in Baltimore on the 12th ult., by the entire

population of the city. Several street parades took place, the day having been ordered by the Mayor of the city and the Governor of the State to be observed as a State holiday. The most appropriate celebration was held under the auspices of the Maryland Society of the War of 1812, at Fort McHenry, where with boom of cannon and roll of drum, with loud anthems and heartfelt prayer the birth of the national anthem, the "Star Spangled Banner," was fitly commemorated. The Fourth Regiment of the M. N. G. (Col. Willard Howard, commanding), the Naval Reserves and other military organizations escorted Governor Brown and staff, who were followed by the different patriotic-hereditary Societies in carriages, including the Society of the War of 1812, the Cincinnati, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of the Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars, the Naval Order of the United States, and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. The parade, under command of Mr. John Dulany as chief marshal, after passing through the principal streets of the city, which were profusely decorated with bunting and were crowded with thousands of spectators, proceeded to Fort McHenry by the authority of the commandant, Maj. George B. Rodney, U. S. Army, where a stand had been erected on the ramparts facing down the bay. After prayer by Rev. Dr. John Lanahan, the Governor of the State was introduced by Mr. Louis P. Griffith, president of the Maryland Society of 1812, who made a short but patriotic speech. Dr. Albert Kimberly Hadel delivered the historical oration, giving a full account of the history of the fort and also of the Societies of the "Old Defenders" and "Sons of the Defenders," and the final amalgamation of the latter in the former in unbroken succession, as well as the formation of their successor in the "Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland." After the address an original ode was pronounced on Francis Scott Key, the author of the "Star Spangled Banner," by his grandson, Francis Scott Key Smith, of Washington, D. C., a short address was also made by William M. Marine. The national anthems of "Hail Columbia" and "America," were sung by the choir of 400 young ladies dressed in white and each bearing the national flag in their coiffures, while the "Star Spangled Banner" was rendered in the most artistic manner by Miss Cecilia Shannon, aged eleven years. This performance rendered her the heroine of the day and brought upon her the kisses of Governor Brown and many others. At the close of the exercises the boom of the monster cannon was heard again and during the lowering and raising of the flag at sunset, a national salute of twenty-one guns was fired, filling the air so densely with smoke and hiding for the time the starry emblem from sight, that it made an excellent repetition of the scene witnessed eighty years ago by the prisoner, Key, on board the British fleet. On the return to the city the visiting guests were handsomely entertained at Rennett's by the Maryland Society; James Edward Carr, Jr., Esq., being chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. While impossible to note all present, the following visitors from other cities were noticed in the parade and on the grandstand: Rev. John G. Morris, chaplain of the Sons of the American Revolution in Maryland, and son of a Revolutionary officer in Armand's Legion; Capt. James Hooper, a surviving veteran of the War of 1812, over ninety years of age;

Comdr. William Bainbridge-Hoff, U. S. Navy; Brig-Gen. Charles Sutherland, U. S. Army; Capt. Henry Hobart Bellas, U. S. Army; Dr. George Horace Burgin, of Philadelphia; Rev. Alexander Hamilton, a descendant of Alexander Hamilton, of Washington's cabinet; Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, of Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Comdr. Felix McCurley, U. S. Navy; Brig-Gen. A. W. Greely, U. S. Army; Comdr. Yates Stirling, U. S. Navy; Gen. Charles A. Reynolds, U. S. Army; Maj. Randolph Norwood, U. S. Army, and McHenry Howard, a grandson of Francis Scott Key, and Col. John Eager Howard.

MEDAL OF HONOR LEGION.—At a meeting in Pittsburgh, September 10, of the Medal of Honor Legion, Senior Vice-Commander Orr, with Comrades J. H. Lyman, of New York; Matthews, of Pittsburgh; Insch, of Newark, Ohio; Hills, of St. Louis; Thomas, of Philadelphia, were appointed to wait upon Congressmen Daniel J. Sickles and Amos J. Cummings and urge them to secure the adoption of such measures as may permit the distinction of the insignia worn by the Legion from all other medals awarded by Congress.

MEDALS OF HONOR FOR VETERANS.—The House Committee on Military Affairs voted, July 17, to reward with medals of honor the soldiers who volunteered after their terms had expired to repel the invasion of the North in 1863. The same distinction is to be conferred under the bill on the troops of New York, New Jersey and Maryland who served in defense of the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the Maryland troops who served from June 15, 1863, to July 15, 1863, under the same call. Ten thousand bronze medals are to be struck off under the provisions of the bill.

AUGUST 20, 5000 people assembled on the battlefield of Fallen Rivers, on the Maumee river, twelve miles above Toledo, Ohio, and celebrated the centenary of Wayne's victory over the Wyandotte, Ottawa and Delaware Indians, breaking the power of their confederacy and securing peace to the then Northwestern frontier. The exercises were under the auspices of the Maumee Valley Monumental Association. Historical addresses by Colonel D. W. H. Howard, General Samuel F. Hunt, E. E. Nutt and General P. S. Slevin, were delivered.

THE annual meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society will be held in Reading on October 13, and on that occasion papers will be read by Rev. John S. Stohr, D. D., and Dr. Walter J. Hoffman.

IN our last number we gave an account of the initial steps of the Society of Colonial Dames in Pennsylvania towards having the custody of Independence Hall transferred to them. Subsequently this request in the shape of an Ordinance was referred to the city councils' Committee on City Property and by the latter to a sub-committee on the personal and earnest appeal of Mrs. Charles C. Harrison.

THE AZTEC CLUB OF 1847 will hold its annual meeting at Sherry's, Fifth avenue and Thirty-seventh street, New York City, at 1.30 o'clock P. M. on October 13, 1894. The dinner will be held there the same evening at 7 o'clock P. M.

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA.—



Mrs. George Wilson Kidder, of Wilmington, N. C., was asked by the president of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, several years ago, to organize a branch of this Society in North Carolina. On March 24, 1894, she called together a number of ladies to take the preliminary steps towards organizing. Delegates were appointed to attend the convention of the National Society at Washington, D. C., April 4, 1894. On July 5 another meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Kidder for the purpose of reorganizing under the charter granted. The following officers were then elected: President, Mrs. George Wilson Kidder; vice-presidents, Mrs. Virginia Gwathmey Empie, Mrs. Clayton Giles; recording secretary, Miss Augusta Lane McPherson; corresponding secretary, Miss Adelaide Meares; treasurer, Miss Louise Cutlar; historian, Miss Mary Sumner Kingsbury; registrar, Miss Caroline Green Meares.

Mrs. Kidder, possessing fine executive capacity, a bright and cultivated mind, together with dignity and a handsome, personal appearance, is well fitted to fill the office to which she has been elected. She belongs to one of the oldest families in the Cape Fear section, and her ancestors were among the most distinguished in colonial times. Among them: Sir John Yeamans, Governor of the Clarendon colony 1665-1674, and James Moore, Governor of South Carolina 1700-1703. Patriotism and love for the "Old North State," her native home, had led her to undertake this work. North Carolina is the last of the thirteen original colonies to join this Society. She has always been equal to any colony or State in zeal and patriotism, and has never failed to respond to the call of duty.

When Thomas Miller, collector of customs, a usurper, who got possession of Albemarle in Carolina in the year 1677, and imposed upon the rights and privileges of the people, endangering their property and often their lives, and attempted to enforce the navigation laws George Durant, a Quaker of wealth and influence, James Blount and others aided Culpeper in raising what is known in history as the "Carolina Rebellion." They arrested Miller, the usurper, imprisoned him, and tried him before a Grand Council held for the county of Albemarle in November, 1679, and thus restored order and quietness to the colonists. In other sections of the colony the men have been equally as patriotic. So it is not from the lack of "State pride" that North Carolina has been so late in entering this Society.

SOCIETY UNITED STATES DAUGHTERS 1776-1812 IN LOUISIANA.—There was a called meeting in August of this Society at the residence of Mrs. M. A. Baily, New Orleans, which was one of the most important yet held by the organization. A resolution of thanks to the Governor of Louisiana for his action in the matter of the Chalmette monument was passed.

In 1855 the State of Louisiana purchased a portion of the historic field of Chalmette, where an association of citizens determined to erect a monument worthy of the victory achieved by our troops on January 8, 1815. This shaft was begun, but never completed, and is gradually being disintegrated by time and weather and the vandal hands of relic hunters. Strangers visiting the city seek out the spot that should be the honor and boast of Louisiana to find it hedged in by huts and fences, a four-foot lane giving the only access to the neglected shaft. In 1888 the legislature, very properly considering that every American should be interested in the commemorating of the magnificent victory of raw troops over the veterans of European campaigns, passed a bill donating to the United States the land and unfinished shaft, provided that the latter should be finished within a period of five years. That time expired July 13, 1893, the land reverting to the State.

The present General Assembly, with the cordial approval of Governor Foster and Attorney-General Cunningham, has passed the joint resolution introduced by Senator Estopinal, giving the monument and grounds to the Daughters of 1776-1812, with the hope that success will crown their efforts to remove what Governor Foster has aptly termed, the "disgrace of Louisiana." The Daughters of 1776-1812 have issued an appeal for funds to complete the monument, satisfied that every Louisianian will gladly assist them.

THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.—The chairman of the Committee on Louisbourg Memorial has visited the site of the old fortress and selected a site for the proposed monument. It is in the centre of a redoubt connected by a causeway with the King's bastion or citadel where Pepperrell and his troops received the keys of the surrendered fortress. The site is an elevated one and the memorial shaft will be a landmark on shore and at sea. The provincial authorities and local population are much interested in the movement. A railroad will be opened to Louisbourg this fall, and bring the place into prominence as a resort and seaport. Many Americans who have visited the spot have expressed great pride that an American patriotic association has taken steps to mark a place where their countrymen showed such valor.

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN VIRGINIA.—The application of Mr. Gustavus A. Walker, of Richmond, Va., Judge R. T. W. Duke, Jr., of Charlottesville, Va., members of the New York Society, and nine or ten other gentlemen residents of Virginia, to organize the Society in that State will be presented at the next meeting of the Council General.

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN ILLINOIS.—Messrs. F. C. Pierce, John S. Sargent, William R. Tucker, Capt. Philip Reade, U. S. Army; Lieut. John T. Thompson, U. S. Army; Seymour Morris and others, members of the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars, will make application this fall for a State Society of Colonial Wars in Illinois.

WE are indebted to the publishers of a work, "Heraldry in America," to be issued by Bailey, Banks & Biddle Co., Philadelphia, for the cuts of the insignias heraldically indicated, used in this department.

NOTES, QUERIES AND REPLIES.

THE MYTHICAL AND THE REAL CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.—That the final word has not been spoken on the subject of the Pocahontas myth, that there is still room for diversity of opinion in spite of Mr. William Wirt Henry's scathing attack on Captain John Smith's assailants, must be granted by all who have taken an interest in the historical puzzle.

It is singular that, for 250 years after the alleged thrilling rescue of Smith by Pocahontas, there was not the slightest intimation that any doubt on this question existed. This was first raised by Mr. Charles Deane, member of the American Antiquarian and Massachusetts Historical Societies, in his preface to Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," first published in Boston in 1860.

The question as to whether this one incident in the life of Smith is to be classified among Hans Andersen's and Grimm's fairy tales is a more important one than would on the surface appear. The well-known editor of Smith's writings, Edward Arber, in his preface says that "Smith of Virginia without Pocahontas would be like William Tell without the apple story;" and yet a curious case of apparent contradiction, made by this distinguished editor, occurs when, on the very next page of his preface, after enumerating Smith's many-sidedness and the varied exploits for which he was distinguished, beginning with his Captaincy of the Artillery at Stühlwessenberg and ending with his colonization in America, he says: "Put all this beside the one single Pocahontas incident, by which he is popularly remembered, and one sees that the real John Smith is a far greater man than the mythical one."

Beside being a most fascinating subject for study, the question involving Captain Smith's veracity is, therefore, a most important one to be determined, as bearing directly upon the trustworthiness of his character as a witness and narrator of the events in the early colonial history of our country.

In spite of the fact that in his address "On the Early Settlement of Virginia, with particular reference to the late attacks upon Captain John Smith, Pocahontas and John Rolfe," delivered before the Virginia Historical Society, February 24, 1882, Mr. William Wirt Henry attempts to demolish those who "are content to act the part of copyists and sneer at Smith's veracity, not following his more generous task of making Smith's defense," it will be necessary, after carefully examining the plaintiff's own account of his experiences, to follow in the wake of those same contemptible copyists and be more truthful than generous.

A long array of names, not including contemporaneous writers, are found in this battle of the pen, both among those who have scouted at the myth and those who have defended it. Leading among these who have taken a conservative stand, beside Mr. Henry, who has presented the subject in a most scholarly and lawyer-like fashion, are Arber, whose

argument is very weak, and J. Esten Cooke, whose argument is still weaker.

On the other side, ranked as destructionists, besides Mr. Deane, who opened the attack, are Charles Dudley Warner, whose book Mr. Henry wholly condemns, and Alexander Brown. It was Mr. Warner's original intention to write a humorous life of Captain Smith in the "Lives of the American Worthies' Series," which should, as he says, "treat the subject with some familiarity and disregard of historic gravity." "I did not anticipate," he goes on to say in his preface, "the seriousness of the task. Investigation showed me that, while Captain John Smith would lend himself easily enough to a merely facetious treatment, there were historic problems worthy of a different handling, and that, if the life of Smith was to be written, an effort should be made to state the truth and to disentangle the career of the adventurer from the fables and misrepresentations that have clustered about it."

Mr. Warner, with the exception of one or two errors, notably that of misrepresenting Smith as standing in a quagmire discoursing to Indians on themes incomprehensible to the savage mind unable to understand his language or be understood by him (p. 123, "Life of Smith"), has certainly accomplished the task set before him and has treated his subject from a serious point of view wherever difficult and purely historical questions have been involved, as this "Life of Smith" abundantly attests. This is surely an unpardonable error, however, as Mr. Henry points out, but the whole "Life" is not to be condemned on this account. The following are Smith's own words in regard to the quagmire misrepresentation: "The Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring, being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more than my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth. Thus surprised I resolved to trie their mercies, my arms I cast from me, till which none durst approach me. Being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the king. I presented him with a compasse diall describing by my best means the use thereof: whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundness of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets." (p. 15, "True Relations.")

The extreme estimates of Smith's character, drawn by his friends and his adversaries, that he was either a charlatan or a saint, are probably not wholly just ones. About somewhere midway between these two extremes would better characterize him. It is taken for granted, in this hasty review of the points and names of those who have taken part in this discussion, that the facts in our earlier colonial history clustering about this period are so familiar that no recital of them is necessary.

It is sufficient to say that Smith came to Virginia in 1607 and returned to England in 1609. In 1614 he made his first voyage to New England. ("A Description of New England," p. 187.) In London, in 1608, was printed the first American pamphlet called "A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as hath Happened in Virginia since the first Planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last return from thence." Although several ascriptions

appeared on the title-page at different times, there is no reasonable doubt as to the authenticity of the pamphlet. Captain Smith is always spoken of as its true author.

In Henry's defense he accuses Smith's assailants of basing their arguments upon the omissions in "True Relations," an accusation which could as reasonably be brought against him.

That there were omissions cannot be denied; but that the omitted parts were not intrinsically of value might be inferred from the fact that Smith lived many years after the publication of the pamphlet, and, had he desired, he could at any time have inserted whatever passages were originally in it, and which were thought by him to be necessary for a correct understanding of the whole. The publisher who signs himself "I. H.," after making due apologies for the error in attaching the wrong name to the book, says "that somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke." As no idea is given as to the motive of these omissions, it is purest conjecture, both on the part of Mr. Henry and others, to attempt to surmise what they were; and if, as Mr. Henry asserts, "until the letter has been reproduced as Smith wrote it, it is simply absurd to attempt to build an argument against Smith's veracity upon its alleged omissions," it is equally absurd and illogical for Mr. Henry to base his arguments upon the same mutilated piece of writing. The main ground of attack has been upon this point.

Smith, through the whole of "True Relations," represents himself as being upon the most friendly terms with Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas and his Indians, and, as far as is possible, we will let his own words confirm this statement: "The Emperour Powhatan, each weeke once or twice, sent me many presents of deere, bread and Raugronghouns; half always for my fater (Captain Newport) whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the countrie their King had given me, as at last Captain Newport resolved to go to see him. Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them; every of them calling me by my name, would not sell anything till I had first received their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they usually came into the Fort at their pleasure." ("True Relations," p. 23.)

In acknowledgment of these certain assurances of friendship made by Smith, he goes on to say that "this so contented Powhatan, as immediately with attentive silence, with a loud oration he proclaimed me Awerowanes or subordinate Chief, and that all his subjects should so esteeme us, and no man account us strangers, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country should be to us as to his owne people." ("True Relations," pp. 25, 26.)

It is not until the end of "True Relations" that Smith makes any reference to Powhatan's famous daughter, and this in a few words: "Powhatan understanding we detained certain Salvages sent his Daughter, a

child of tenne years old : which, not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people : but for wit and spirit is the only Nonpariel of his Country. This he sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person ; but of a subtile wit and crafty understanding.

"He with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan loved and respected mee ; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kinnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me. . . ." ("True Relations," p. 38.)

This is the only reference to the Princess Pocahontas made by Smith at this time, and no reference is made at all to the thrilling incident of the rescue either by Smith or his contemporaries. Such a silence is indisputably of significance. Mr. Henry explains it by saying that the incident was in all probability related by Smith in his book, but omitted by his publisher. That, however, can never be known. Had such been the case would he not, long years after, when he relates the story in his letter to Queen Anne, about 1624, and also in his "General History," Third Book, p. 400, have referred to its omission in his earlier writings ? It is not an incredible story, and had it actually occurred in 1608 what reasons could he possibly have had for withholding it are questions which constantly arise. The common reason that the London Company did not wish further colonization in America interfered with, and therefore caused this little incident to be suppressed, does not strike one as even plausible.

Does not internal evidence alone disprove the story, and force one to a belief that it was an incident manufactured by a vain man for vainglorious reasons. "Fortunate is the hero who links his name romantically with that of a woman," was undoubtedly in the mind of Smith fourteen years after, when it first occurred to him to cook up this incident out of raw materials.

Ithaca, N. Y.

JESSICA G. TYLER.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.—In availing myself of the courtesy of the Editor, who has invited me to make such reply as I may desire to the article entitled "The Mythical and the Real Captain John Smith," I shall not weary the reader by going into the discussion concerning that celebrated character at any great length. I shall only notice the position of the writer, that internal evidence alone disproves the story of the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas. This position he bases on the omission of the incident in the first letter written by Smith from Virginia after its alleged date, known as the "True Relation," and the friendly relations between Smith and Powhatan, the Indian Emperor, as described in this letter, as we have it.

As to the omission of the rescue in this letter of Smith, published in London in 1608, the fact that the publisher distinctly states in his preface that he suppressed a part of the original letter in his publication, and that the London Company had forbidden the writing of anything from the colony tending to discourage others from going thither, seem to completely destroy this ground of attack.

Smith had surrendered as a prisoner, and the cruelty of Powhatan

in proposing to put him to death afterwards would have had a decided effect in checking emigration to Virginia at this early stage of the colony; and so it would have been proper, had Smith narrated it in this letter, for the publisher to suppress it. The attack upon Smith's veracity, in his subsequent statements, based upon the omission of his rescue in a publication of a garbled letter, seems to me to be very weak. But the writer of the above article wishes to know why Smith in later writings did not refer to this omission in the "True Relation." Now, when Smith in those later writings gives the incident in detail, and the attack on his veracity, on the ground that he had omitted it in his first letter from Virginia, had not been made, it seems hard to condemn him for not explaining what, at the time, did not demand explanation. It may be added on this point that there were several matters of importance omitted in the "True Relation" which were well attested by the writings of the colonists other than Smith—such as the arrest of Smith on the voyage out on the charge of implication in an intended mutiny; the attempt of Archer to put Smith to death, and the several attempts of some of the colonists to abandon the colony.

As to the argument drawn from the friendly relations between Smith and Powhatan, as detailed by Smith, this also must fall to the ground.

The fact that when Smith was first carried before Powhatan he feasted him and appeared very kind, does not at all disprove the intention of Powhatan to put him to death. Such was the habit of some of the Indian tribes of whom we have accounts. Parkman in his "Jesuits in North America," at pp. 79-81, relates an instance of this practice among the Hurons, and he adds in a note: "This pretended kindness in the treatment of a prisoner destined to torture was not exceptional. The Hurons sometimes even supplied their intended victim with a temporary wife."

The quotation made by the writer of the foregoing article, which sets out the presents sent Smith by Powhatan and the confidence reposed in him by the Indians, is from the narrative subsequent to Smith's return from captivity, and, of course, after Pocahontas had been the means of changing the mind of Powhatan, and Smith had, by clever arts, ingratiated himself in his good graces. Of course this is no evidence against Smith's rescue, but is corroborative of it, as it shows the result of the act of Pocahontas. Such rescues by Indian squaws of captives are detailed by other writers, and are therefore credible.

This incident in the life of Smith had no white man as a witness; but the letter of Smith to the Queen in 1616, when Pocahontas, John Rolfe, her husband, and Temocomo, her brother-in-law, and one of Powhatan's councillors, were in England, commending her to the special notice of the Queen because of this and other services to him and the colony, is very conclusive evidence of its truth. It is hardly possible that Smith would have written a falsehood which would have been so certainly detected and exposed by Pocahontas and her party, as she was entertained at court and by others. But I am going over arguments much better presented in my address, which the writer rates much higher than it deserves, I fear, but which, I trust, is more convincing than she admits.

Richmond, Va.

WILLIAM WIRT HENRY.

WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE ATE LORD HOWE'S BREAKFAST.—History tells us of the personal reconnoissance of Washington and Lafayette around Elk Landing, Md., when the British debarked at that point, from whence they marched to the Brandywine, Pa. It also states that they camped upon Chestnut Hill, Del., from which point the upper Chesapeake is distinctly visible. They made an early start from their bivouac and went northwestward to strike the road leading from Elk Landing to Newark, and entered a farm house, which stands about one hundred yards from the road, to try for a breakfast. They were graciously received by the lady of the house, and found a table nicely set and the breakfast ready to be served. Lafayette manifested great delight at their good luck, and they were soon seated. The lady of the house leaving the room for a moment, Washington touched Lafayette under the table with his foot and said: "Eat in a hurry; this breakfast was not meant for us." He took the hint and it was not long before they were again in the saddle, after expressing many thanks for the hospitality. Upon turning a bend in the road they looked back and saw Lord Howe and his staff, the expected guests, turn into the farmhouse.

When Lafayette visited the United States in 1824 the city of Baltimore sent a committee to Philadelphia to meet him and escort him to their city. In this committee was a Mr. Lausdale. Upon the approach of the delegation to Elk Landing, Lafayette related the story to him. Mrs. Lausdale told my mother this story, as related to her husband by Lafayette, who pointed out the house to me where this event took place. It was on the east side of the road leading from Newark to Elkton, near where it crosses Little Elk creek. Alexander was the name of the lady who prepared the breakfast.

Prescott, Arizona.

JOHN F. BLANDY.

CHAUNCEY.—In the published genealogies of Rev. Charles Chauncey, D. D., second president of Harvard College, it is stated that his wife, Catherine, was a daughter of Robert Eyre, of Sarum, and his wife Anne, daughter of Rt. Rev. John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1592, by his wife Jane, daughter of Sir John Horner, of Cloford, and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir George Speke, of Whitelackington, and Elizabeth Luttrell. As these statements are not exactly substantiated by almost contemporary evidence of Visitations, may I ask the assistance of someone familiar with the Chauncey pedigree to verify these intermarriages which give Mrs. President Chauncey this distinguished lineage?

Chicago.

E. C.—Y.

HARLAKENDEN.—All of the modern pedigrees of Mabel Harlakenden, second wife of John Haynes, governor of Massachusetts colony, 1635, and first governor of Connecticut, 1639, make her a descendant of "Richard Londinoys, of Briade, Sussex, and his wife, Catherine Fienes, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacre." Was this Mrs. Londinoys, or Loudenoys, Lord Dacre's daughter? Her name in this connection does not appear in the Dacre pedigrees by Banks nor Collins, nor in any English-printed genealogy in my reach.

J. D. L., OF N. Y.

HUBBELL.—What ancestor furnished, in the male line, the greatest number of descendants, who served as commissioned officers in the American forces during the Revolutionary War?

As a "starter," I present the name of *Richard Hubbell 1st*, born 1627; joined the New Haven colony from Plymouth, England, 1647; died in Stratfield parish, town of Fairfield, Conn., of which he was one of the Grantees, in 1699.

His descendants, commissioned officers during the war, were as follows:

1. *Aaron Hubbell*, b. 1757, d. 1844. Member of Capt. Samuel Robinson's Company of the Militia at the battle of Bennington, and afterwards lieutenant of the Company.
2. *Amos Hubbell*, b. 1747, d. 1817. Adjutant of Colonel Canfield's Connecticut Regiment of Militia, at West Point, 1781.
3. *Gershom Hubbell*, b. 1729, d. 1802. Lieutenant in Capt. Jonathan Dimon's Company, of Fairfield, Conn.; on Coast Guard 1775-76; afterwards enlisted in Captain Abel's Company, Bradley's Battalion Connecticut Troops, June 20, 1776, discharged November 16, 1776.
4. *Isaac Hubbell*, b. 1755, d. 1842. Private, Lexington alarm, 1775; private Fifth Connecticut Continental Line, May 17-September 17, 1775; prisoner and escaped; adjutant Colonel Lamb's Second Regiment Continental Artillery, January 1, 1777-July 1, 1779; captain-lieutenant, September 13, 1778; regimental paymaster, January 1, 1781-June, 1783, and served to November 3, 1783.
5. *John Hubbell*, b. 1734, d. 1810. Lieutenant in Capt. Jonathan Dimon's Company, of Fairfield, Conn.; on the Coast Guard 1775-76; sergeant in Captain Sterling's Company, Colonel Whiting's Fourth Regiment Connecticut Militia during October, 1777; at Peekskill during "Burgoyne alarm."
6. *John Hubbell*, b. ———, d. ———. Ensign Twelfth Massachusetts Continental Line, January 1, 1777; second lieutenant, July 5, 1777; resigned July 28, 1780.
7. *Salmon Hubbell*, b. 1754, d. 1830. Private Seventh Connecticut Continental Line, July 22-December 23, 1775; ensign Eighth Connecticut Continental Line, January 1, 1777; second lieutenant, March 26, 1778; first lieutenant, April 19, 1779; transferred to Fifth Connecticut, January 1, 1781; regimental paymaster, November 1, 1781; retired January 1, 1783; at Stony Point, Monmouth and Yorktown; an original member of the Cincinnati.
8. *Shadrach Hubbell*, b. ———, d. ———. Second lieutenant Captain Bottsford's Company, Swift's Connecticut Battalion, 1776.
9. *Silas Hubbell*, b. 1738, d. 1805. Ensign Captain Olmstead's Company, Colonel Mosely's Regiment Connecticut Militia, 1777; ensign Captain Olmstead's Company, Colonel Enos' Regiment Militia, 1778; served previously at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and a member of "the Boston tea party."

10. *William Hubbell*, b. 1755, d. 1830. Private Fifth Connecticut Continental Line, May 10–November 17, 1775; ensign Captain Walker's Company, Elmore's Connecticut Regiment, April 15, 1776; ensign Captain Walker's Company, Colonel Burrall's Continental Regiment, 1776, at Quebec; second lieutenant Colonel Lamb's Second Regiment Continental Artillery, January 1, 1777; first lieutenant, September 12, 1778; resigned October 1, 1780.

11. *William Gaylord Hubbell*, b. 1736, d. ——. Captain Seventh Regiment Connecticut Continental Line, Col. Charles Webb, July 6–December 23, 1775; captain Third Company, Colonel Silliman's Battalion, Wadsworth's Brigade Connecticut Militia, 1776; battle of Long Island and White Plains; captain Colonel Beardsley's Regiment during "New Haven alarm," Tryon's invasion of Connecticut, July, 1779.

The above list (except in the case of Lieutenant Aaron Hubbell, taken from family history) is transcribed from the official rosters published by authority of the War Department and the Legislature of the State of Connecticut, which contain in addition to the above, the names of many Hubbells who served as non-commissioned officers and privates, some thirty in number, in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Several of the name likewise served with New York troops. All are descendants of Richard Hubbell 1st.

Fort Wadsworth, New York Harbor,

H. W. HUBBELL,

September 13, 1894. *Capt. First Regiment Artillery, U. S. Army.*

PROVINCE AND COLONY.—Are these interchangeable terms; if not, in what do they differ? The following is an attempt to explain. English settlements in America were generally designated colonies or provinces. However, there does not seem to have been by the Crown officers an exact conformity in the use of these appellations. But usually the term *Province* was made and intended to apply to all settlements where the *King* appointed the Governor, and *Colony* to those where the freemen of those settlements were authorized to elect their own governor. This distinction was not of universal application.

Virginia continued to be called a colony after her first charter was recalled, which permitted her to elect a governor, and because she had once been a colony. Some of the British settlements had a governor only. Others a governor and council, as have Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay and Georgia, without any house of deputed planters according to the essence of the British Constitution.

There were, it is true, various sorts of Royal grants of land for adventure and settlement, as to one or more personal proprietors, their heirs and assigns. Maryland and Pennsylvania represented this form, each enjoyed both the property and the government. While in South Carolina and the Jerseys the property was in the personal proprietors, but the government and jurisdiction was retained in the Crown.

In Massachusetts Bay the property was in the people and their representatives, but the government was reserved to the Crown. And others, as New York and New Hampshire, where both property and government were

reserved to the Crown. And still another form of grant, as in Rhode Island and Connecticut, differing, however, in each where the property and government was in the Governor and company called "The Freemen of the Colony."

The experience gained by our colonial ancestors from the workings of these several systems developed among the people a knowledge of practical government much better suited to their needs than the laws of the Alabama county. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the hardy, self-reliant race which the American colonies produced sought independence, and established for themselves and their posterity a government of "the people, for the people, and by the people."

J. M. T.

Goss, sometimes spelled *Gause*.—Charles Goss, of Chester county, Pennsylvania, first appears there in 1721 as "single man." He died there in 1732 leaving descendants. Fifteen dollars will be given for information establishing his parentage.

733 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.

J. G. LEACH.

DEAN, or DEANE.—Information wanted of the descendants of Nicholas Dean, who settled in Mile Square, now Yonkers, N. Y., near end of seventeenth century; also of Joseph, of the Seventh, and Stephen, of the Second Regiment of Dutchess county (N. Y.) Militia, 1778-79.

W. ABBATT.

PRATT.—Nathaniel Pratt married in Worcester, Mass., December 20, 1809, Polly Harrington. He resided in Sutton, Mass., at the time. What was his ancestry?

NATHANIEL.

THONG.—One Walter Thong (or Tong) married, say about 1730, Catharine Van Dam, daughter of Governor Rip Van Dam, of New York. Can any correspondent help me to any information as to who his ancestors were?

THONG.

VAN CORLEAR.—Who were the parents of Benoni Van Corlear, of Albany, N. Y., who married, June 2, 1686, Eliz. Vanderpoel?

KNICKERBOCKER.

RUMNEY.—What was the name and parentage of the wife of Robert Rumney, of New York or Albany, he the son of Jonathan Rumney (or Rumbly), and baptized October 30, 1709?

R. R.

PURCHASE.—Thomas Roe married at Suffield, Conn., say 1728, Elizabeth Purchase. Who were her parents?

FORGE.

ROBINSON.—Nathaniel Whitney, Jr., of Watertown, Mass., married November 7, 1695, a Mary Robinson, who died December 31, 1740. Can anyone locate her parents?

WATERTOWN.

DATER.—Who was Lavinia Dater, who married near Livingston Manor, New York, about 1789, Elisha Covert?

LIVINGSTON.

DAILY.—Baltus Poutese Van Benthuyzen married in New York City, February 22, 1709, Lydia Daily. Who was she?

G. G.

BENTON.—Elijah Clapp, of Hartford, Conn., married in 1735, Mary Benton. There were two maidens of this name at that date of marriageable age. Which Mary was it?

HARTFORD.

PALMER.—John Russell, of Woburn or Boston, Mass., married December 21, 1682, Elizabeth Palmer. Can anyone locate her for

E. B. C.?

HILL.—Ebenezer Hill, of Goshen, Conn., married January 3, 1716, Martha Dible. Can you give me any information as to the ancestry of either of them?

A. T. H.

DICK.—What was the maiden name of the wife of Dr. Dick, who was a physician to General Washington?

Baltimore, Md.

ESTHER GILL JACKSON.

CAN you inform me of the history of the French Cross of St. Louis; its origin, date and by what king? I have failed to find any account of it.

D. S. L.

ARE there any known existing copies of the original Proclamation of General Washington, issued at Newburgh, April 18, 1783, announcing the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain? I have a copy issued by Adjutant-General Department at Newburgh, and it is said to be very rare, as they were not preserved in the excitement of the period. My copy is in admirable preservation. Spark's Vol. 8 does not give the Proclamation in full.

D. S. L.

RHEA.—The Rheas were well known in Freehold during the American Revolution. Now, the only trace they left is their family plot on the D. D. Denise farm. See page 508 Ellis' "History of Monmouth County." What is known of the ancestry of Jonathan Rhea, Quartermaster-General of New Jersey from 1813-21? Was he a descendant of Robert Rhea, who died January 18, 1729, and was buried in this old family plot near Freehold? Is there any living male descendant of this branch of the Rheas?

Freehold, N. J.

DAVID V. FERRINE.

BOOK NEWS.

MISS LOUISE TRACY, New Haven, has in press an illustrated story* that will interest the Dames, Sons and Daughters. It begins with the birth of the heroine in 1765, and closes with her death in 1839. It is made up of bits of family tradition and colonial and Revolutionary history connected by a thread of fancy.

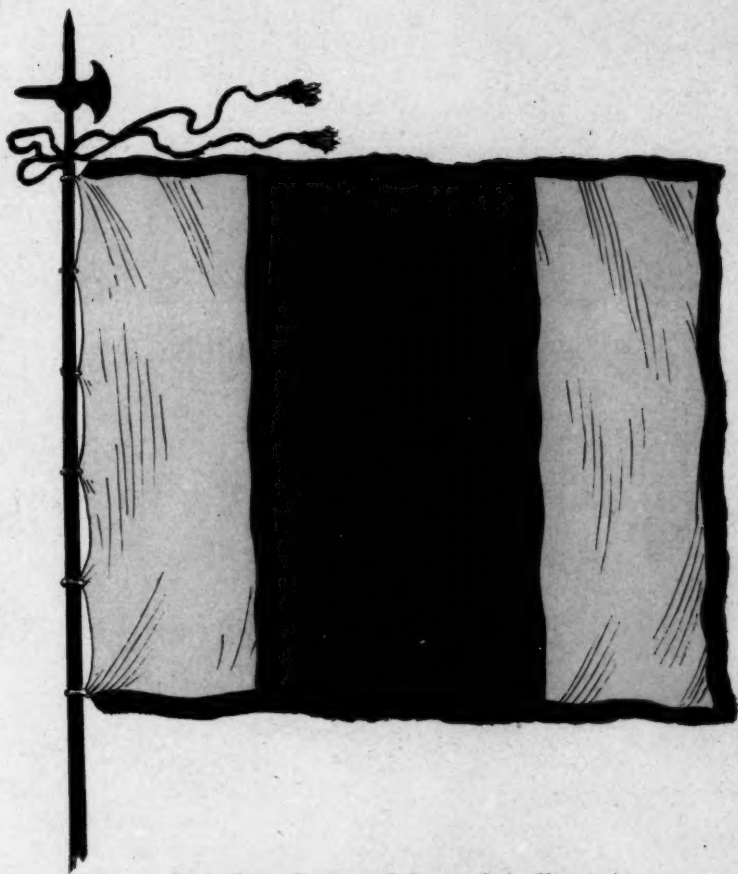
The Heroine and her husband, coming of good old colonial stock, bring into the story many of the prominent families of the times. The book will have numerous illustrations.

MR. G. O. SHIELDS (Coquina), author of "Cruisings in the Cascades," "The Big Game of North America," "Rustlings in the Rockies," and books on field sports, has started a new illustrated magazine called *Recreation*, devoted primarily to hunting, wing-shooting, fishing and the dog. It will also treat, to some extent, of all legitimate sports and amusements, outdoor and indoor, of travel, exploration, etc. It is published at 216 William street, New York.

THE SPIRIT OF '76 is the catchy title of a monthly, 16-page, illustrated paper, the first number of which was issued last month from its publication office in New York City. Its main object is to chronicle, as fully as possible, the proceedings and celebrations of the patriotic-hereditary societies of the United States. In extending congratulations to our contemporary for the nice appearance of its initial number, we welcome it in this field of patriotic endeavor, for there are not enough periodicals having in them the "spirit of '76" to properly preserve in a permanent and convenient shape all the current news of the patriotic associations of all classes. The more periodicals giving space to the doings of the American patriotic-hereditary societies there are, the sooner will the American citizens in general willingly recognize and applaud their patriotic deeds and the fact that the members of these bodies have higher objects in view by their convention than only the consideration of badges, buttons and banquets.

GEN. BRADLEY T. JOHNSON'S "General Washington," and Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's "General Lee," are the newest and also most entertaining biographies in the Great Commanders Series. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

*Great-Grandmother, or the Maid of Milford. A Tale of the American Revolution: Written and Published by Louise Tracy, author of "Patsy's Christmas," "Patsy's Easter," "Lady Mildred," etc. Illustrated by Anita Phinney. Dedication: To the "Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution," and to the Relatives and Descendants of Lucy Pardee Burwell ("Dorothy"), this sketch of her life, and the times in which she lived, is dedicated by her great-granddaughter, a Daughter of the American Revolution.



Flag of the Society of Sons of the Revolution.